THE PROBLEM OF AMERICANIZATION

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OF

AMERICANIZATION

BY

PETER ROBERTS, PH.D.

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INTRODUCTION

THE word Americanization has become a household term — among the native-born a synonym of anxiety, dread, or duty, among the foreign-born one of misgiving, suspicion, or hope. There are more than five million aliens in the United States, ninety-five per cent of whom are kindly disposed to America. The remaining five per cent comprise the radicals, whose souls are lashed by breezes of doctrines, emanating from continental Europe, writhing in the hand of doctrinaires who treat a starving and bankrupt patient. The radicals have a well-organized speaker's bureau, a many-tongued press, and a fervency in attack which cannot be paralleled by any constructive and conserving agency interested in aliens. If Bolshevism and I. W. W.-ism are to be successfully combated, America needs a program of enlightenment, an army of volunteer workers, a wide-awake press, and a zeal for American democracy akin to apostolic fervor. The radicals have long had the right of way in communities made up of foreign-speaking peoples. We should match this with a propaganda of enlightenment as to what the principles of American democracy are, how it operates, and what the prospects are for a successful future.

The purpose of this book is to aid men and women giving all or part time to the work of Americanization. It emphasizes the heritage that is ours, submits a program and a plan of operation, outlines how men and women may be trained to do the work, and points to the goal which all Americanization workers should keep before them. America suffers with a world that is worn and torn. In these days of reconstruction we need to recall the heroism of men and women of all lands who have suffered to bring about a better to-morrow. America's future is full of hope, but it is inseparably involved in the question of whether or not we are willing to weld our five million aliens to the body politic by sympathy, justice, good will, and brotherly kindness. This can be done if we have unfaltering faith that out of all aliens, staunch defenders of this great democracy can be formed.

The program and organization outlined in the book have been successfully used in many fields. They are the fruits of years of service for and with immigrants. My aim has been to interest the teacher and the general reader in the most important phases of Americanization. The view-point of the book, as well as the choice of details, has been influenced by my connection with the Y. M. C. A. as director of its Americanization activity. My work for the last fifteen years has brought me in contact with all kinds of immigrants in every state in the Union. Never has the work of Americanization been more promising than now — promising, because of the eagerness of the foreign-born to receive what America

has to offer, and because of the willingness of the native-born to give a helping hand to all who honestly try to become Americans. If the leaders of the foreigners and public-spirited Americans in industrial centers where aliens live plan wisely, and coöperate heartily in the work of assimilation, the beneficent result will be better understanding and greater solidarity among the peoples forming cosmopolitan communities — a consummation devoutly wished by every true American.

PETER ROBERTS

NEW YORK,
October, 1920

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CHAPTER I

WHAT IS AMERICANIZATION?

EVERY schoolboy knows what America is; few can state what Americanization means. When America saw the birth of an independent nation, the square miles of land yielded by the British government to the revolutionists was less than one third the present area of the United States. The ideas which the men of 1776 projected found a favorable material basis in the ceded territory, but before independence was won and before the colonists had ever thought of seceding from the mother country, the principles which the founders of this Republic held were ruling their lives and actions, as well as those of many of their contemporaries in Great Britain and France. It was at the close of the eighteenth century that democratic ideas became strong enough to disrupt European governments resting on tradition and privilege. The commotion, agitation, and strife in Europe did not accomplish much, but in America the case was different. The believers in the natural rights of man in this country were more fortunate than their European compeers. Here was a territory which kings had never trod, where

traditions had not bound men hand and foot, and where there was no class in the population to be compared with the "fourth estate."

The colonists, having won independence and having material advantages which could not be enjoyed in the Old World, set to work to institute a form of government designed to give the people the greatest possible freedom in the realization of self-determination. A democratic government was established and has flourished for more than one hundred and forty years. It is the political expression of the ideals of the fathers, and gives us the type of democracy known as American.

This American form of government can best be studied (1) in the documents which the colonists drafted and placed before the court of the world; (2) in the history of the country for the past hundred and forty years; and (3) in the political life of Americans as revealed both in home and foreign affairs. In these three sources the Americanization director must find what Americanism means, and the purpose of this chapter is to give a faint idea of what the spirit of America is as exhibited in these sources.

1. The Two Fundamental Documents. What were the fundamental ideals which the founders of this government held? They are best expressed in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution of the United States. The first document was an apology to the peoples of the world, specifying in very distinct terms the right the colonists had to independence, and the causes which

impelled them to separate from the government of Great Britain. The second is the framework of the government they established and the regulations under which it was to operate.

In the very first sentence of the Declaration of Independence the fathers appealed to the "laws of nature" and to "nature's God" as the ground on which they based their right to an independent status among the nations of the earth. "Laws of nature" and "natural rights" were synonymous terms in the minds of these men, and back of nature they believed in a Ruler to whom they appealed.

The conditions under which they lived in America undoubtedly helped them to a right interpretation of the "laws of nature" as expounding the rights of men. They led the simple life. They were face to face with the elemental forces of nature. They did not have the varied, complex, and intricate life of the twentieth century. They were farmers, living on their own farms. There were no wealthy men in the sense we to-day speak of wealth; neither were there any poor. The produce of field and flock gave enough and to spare to man and beast. The families were large and every member was busy; none found time hanging heavily on his hands. The wage-earner of to-day was the independent husbandman of to-morrow. Wages were low, but opportunities to gain an independent economic existence were many. No one could long call himself master. It was a country where there were no captains of industry, for there were

no industries. Factories in the modern sense of the word were unknown. Indented servitude was practiced but this was a temporary measure. The woods and the mountains and the streams called unto the man with strong arms and legs and a stout heart, and thousands heard the call, for none had to fear either starvation or bondage. The courageous man in America in colonial days could be as free as the birds and as strong as the roamers of the wilderness.

The imported immigrants and the prisoners exiled by the home government soon caught the spirit of the field and forest. If endowed with courage, fortitude, and a strong constitution, they soon learned the lesson of the red man—to die rather than bend to the yoke of bondage. Boys in their teens caught the spirit and were not afraid to be thrown on their own resources. In field and forest they were inured to danger and courted it. With a gun and a good knife, they sought adventure, and were able to defend themselves in a way dreamed of by few boys of to-day, cooped, as they are, in factories and mills. George Rogers Clark, with his two hundred volunteers marching a hundred miles through the wilderness to strike a blow for liberty, is typical of the spirit of the men raised under conditions such as obtained in colonial days. And it was under these conditions that men, leading the simple life and depending upon their own courage to wrest from nature the gifts she bestowed upon her children, spoke of "natural rights" and of the God of nature giving them a title to stand on their own feet and work out their own

destiny. Being true to themselves, they could not do anything else. They were the children of nature and took the lessons she taught and put them into practice, throwing away the fetters which had long hurt their hands and feet.

The hundred and forty years intervening between their action and our day have brought to pass many things. Would the men of the twentieth century write a Declaration of Independence such as they did? They were practical men and charged the king with:

1. Denying the right of self-government.
2. Obstructing the administration of justice.
3. Interfering with the police power of the people.
4. Interfering with the economic life of the people.
5. Waging war upon the colonists because they dared to protest against tyranny.
6. Refusing to listen to the appeal of the oppressed.

These things they suffered, and they were resolved to change them or die in the attempt. They knew that the task was enormous and resolved to risk it. "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledged to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." That has the ring of earnestness. They believed in governing themselves; they knew what laws they needed for their good. They could not live under a system that defeated justice; they would not tolerate a perverted judiciary; they would not stand the punishment of the innocent and the liberation of the guilty; they wanted property interests protected and personal

safety assured; they insisted that the product of their hands should not be stolen; they resolved to resist having their homes burned and their property destroyed. These were the things for which the colonists fought and died, and they are things for which men of to-day will fight and die.

When the fathers established a form of government for themselves, they placed in the Constitution safeguards against the evils they had endured under British rule. The document vested the government in the people; all officers clothed with power were the servants of the people; justice was established by a series of courts dispensing equity between man and man; justice depended upon each man being guaranteed the enjoyment of the fruits of his labor; the nation guaranteed the defense of each of its citizens against foreign foes. Provision was also made that whenever the citizens thought changes should be made in the Constitution, these changes could be made. They guaranteed freedom of worship; freedom of speech and of the press; the right to petition and to keep arms; the right to resist unreasonable search; the right to protect life and property; the right to be tried by a jury of their own peers; and the right to vote.

It was the first attempt made by a modern state to put all powers of government in the hands of the people. It was a venture in self-government. It was committing the ship of state to the hands of common humanity — a hazardous experiment. All experience was against it. Most of the statesmen and the seers of the Old World

were against it. The philosophers of Europe and the prophets of the world predicted failure, and yet these daring men pushed out to sea and the ship of state is still sailing and has become the admiration of the world. The fathers were bold men and men of faith. They had enough faith in common humanity to put the government in its hands; man henceforth was to be the source of government; all the rights that were to be set up were to be set up in the name of humanity; it was a demand for freedom in the name of God-given rights, and a proclamation to the world that confidence in the brotherhood of man was to be the cornerstone of this new edifice. It has stood the test of seven generations and the principles laid down by the fathers are defended to-day by more voices and votes than were dreamed of by the boldest seers of that age.

2. A Century and a Half of History. Let us now look at these principles in action during the hundred and forty years of the nation's life. Have they been faithfully applied? Not in every instance, but taking the history of the United States as a whole, the nation has a record of which it need not be ashamed.

The trend of American legislation, both federal and state, has been in favor of the common man. Never in the history of the world have governments divided the land among the people on so large a scale as was done in the United States. For a hundred years men could get farms for the asking. When Congress pressed its claim for territory which the several states owned, the state

governments relinquished their claims in favor of the federal government, and much of the public domain was distributed among the people. The policy was so liberal that no effort was made to hold the land in order to bestow it on the native-born. Large sections of the country were thrown open to "foreigners," and many agricultural communities are found in the United States made up of men who speak a tongue other than English.

The people of the United States practice the spirit of democracy in daily life in an unconscious way. For a hundred years the gates were kept open to immigrants. There is no doubt that many nations abused this complacent faith in the natural goodness of human nature, and unloaded many undesirables on America. It is no reflection on the statesmen of the country, nor a departure from democratic faith, to raise the barriers and to make impossible the entrance of the maimed and the sick, the mentally defective and those suffering from contagious diseases, the polygamists and the paupers, the illiterate and the leper, the believer in no government and the destroyers of all governments. These are guards thrown around the population and are designed to keep out defectives in body and mind. Those who pass educational tests are allowed to enter, no discrimination being made. Congress closed the gate against Asiatics for economic reasons. In no other country founded and ruled by Anglo-Saxons has so liberal a policy been followed, and so great an optimism been manifested toward those coming from foreign shores to settle in the land.

Never have Americans tried to monopolize the country and the resources of the country. The man of talent, whether he is native- or foreign-born, has had a free course and his efforts, when they meet a social need, have been generously rewarded. Let a Carnegie organize an industry to serve the people and he is honored and enriched and no native-born receives greater recognition. Alexander Bell is honored and rewarded just as much as Samuel Morse; Alexander Stewart as much as John Wanamaker; Oscar Straus as much as John Redfield; Louis Agassiz as much as George Dana; N. Ericsson as well as Eli Whitney; Nicolas Tesla as well as Thomas Edison. In no country has the road been open to talent as in America. No matter where we look, in the industries, the sciences, the arts, finance, statesmanship — interspersed among names of men of colonial ancestry are those of foreign birth. In "Who's Who in America," the names of the foreign-born, as well as those of the native-born are found, and no one dreams of barring any because of birth or tongue or creed.

The democratic spirit is also manifested in the matter of education. America has gone on the principle that "the existence of a republic, unless all its citizens are educated, is an admitted impossibility." Jefferson laid down the principle that "to render even them (the people) safe their minds must be improved to a certain degree." The people believe in the democratic idea of universal compulsory education, and this accounts for the fact that "the average of knowledge is higher, the habit of reading

and thinking more generally diffused in America than in any other country." Well may it be the boast of the United States that it aims "to elevate the mass of mankind — the laboring class — to raise them to self-respect, to make them competent to act a part in the great right and the great duty of self-government."

The public schools are open to all children and no question is asked whether their parents are aliens or citizens. The incoming thousands impose demands on communities that swell the taxes and yet the facilities are provided. Communities cheerfully vote millions to build schoolhouses to accommodate the children of foreign-born. It is indeed putting into practice the words of Washington: "Promote as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge;" and in no instance has this policy been more beneficial than in its influence upon the children of the foreign-born. Our schools have been most potent in the preservation of democracy. "Their absolute democracy and their universal use of the English language have made the common schools most successful machines for converting the raw material of immigration into American citizens."

And not only is this true of the grammar grades, but it is equally true of the high schools, colleges, and universities of the land. The amount of money spent on pupils in the high schools is much larger per capita than the amount spent upon those in the grammar grades, but the money is spent willingly that the child of the poorest family as well as that of the richest in the community

may enter these, without money and without price. In these schools are found commercial and industrial courses as well as academic, and in many cities technical schools are built at government expense, where instruction is given to all, regardless of race, in textile manufacture, bleaching, electricity, mining, iron and steel production. The same is true of our colleges, seminaries, and universities. In state institutions the son of the foreign-born may enter and no one asks whether the parents are citizens of America or not, providing they are domiciled in the state. It has been well said that "in no country are the higher kinds of learning more accessible."

Another sphere in which the principles of democracy are applied is that of the patent office. Under no government in Christendom have such liberal principles been followed as in America in the granting of patents to mechanical geniuses of all classes. No matter whether a man is foreign-born or not, whenever he applies for a patent the machinery of the government is put at his service. The fees are standardized, the service is uniform, and if the poor man can meet the modest fees asked, he can command equal service with the millionaire. No sooner was the federal government formed than the Constitution stated that "Congress shall have power to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." In no civilized country have so many patents been issued to the sons of toil as in these United States. The ingenuity of the

Yankee, the acuteness of the American worker, and the quickness of the American machinist have become proverbial. The names of inventors, from Joseph Jenks down to Edison, have been those of men at the bench whose genius was encouraged by democratic stimulus, most of whom rose to affluence and many to fortune.

I will mention one more American institution which is the fruit of the democratic idea — the free public library. It has well been called the "people's university and continuation school of the toilers." It was introduced about the middle of the last century, when the state of Massachusetts authorized any city to support a public library from the taxes up to a certain expense, according to the number of taxpayers. Before the century was closed, most of the states having progressive educational systems had adopted the free public library as a state institution, authorizing gifts from the state treasury to help establish such libraries, and also defining the taxes which local municipalities could appropriate for the support of these institutions. The result is that in hundreds of cities and towns free public libraries are found, and in villages and hamlets the circulating library finds its way, bringing within reach of isolated families in rural communities as well as in small industrial centers the latest fiction, standard works, and technical books which they could not hope to purchase.

So thoroughly has the institution found favor among the people as a part of their educational equipment, that

a public library system is under the control of Congress and in the hands of librarians and public educators, who regard it as an adjunct to our public school and higher educational system. By means of this institution, public school children are able to secure the use of books their parents could not purchase; school-teachers are able to secure technical works which they could never hope to buy from the meager salaries paid them; every toiler, no matter what his industrial status, can go to the free public library and have access to masters of English prose and poetry, technical works on science and art, the best fiction of the day, which privilege a few generations back was not within the reach of even the leisure classes.

It is also a fact worth noting that this institution is adjusting its equipments to the need of the community which it serves. In cities such as Buffalo, New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, where a large percentage of the population is foreign-born, the librarians study the composite elements in the population, and secure books in the respective tongues. The libraries play no small part in shaping the thoughts of the foreign-born in the defense and perpetuation of this Republic. When both native- and foreign-born get into the habit of frequenting the free public library in quest of light upon the social, economic, and political questions of the day, we have gone a great way in making safe the fruits of democracy in the land. When the voters of the country, both naturalized and native, demand knowledge and seek wisdom in the free library, we "educate our masters"

and make certain the perpetuation of freedom and liberty on this continent.

3. America's Political Life, Home and Foreign. The principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution have shaped the home and foreign policies of the United States. These two documents have been the guiding stars of the country during the hundred and forty years of its history in transactions with foreign nations.

The wars of the United States, with one exception, have differed from the wars of other strong nations in the fact that they were not waged for aggrandizement, but for human rights and in defense of the oppressed. The home conflict — the Civil War — was inevitable if the heirs of the Constitution were to remain true to the principles laid down by the fathers of the Republic. No sooner was this document adopted as the law of the land, than William Pinkney raised his voice (1788) in defense of a thoroughgoing application of the principle of freedom. He said: "We may talk of liberty in our public councils and fancy that we feel reverence for her dictates. We may declaim, with all the vehemence of animated rhetoric, against oppression, and flatter ourselves that we detest the ugly monster, but so long as we continue to cherish the poisonous weed of partial slavery among us, the world will doubt our sincerity."

At the very fountain head of America's institutions, "the false and ignoble distinctions between men" were denounced and the firm faith reposed "in the common

mind as the true material for a commonwealth." Abraham Lincoln, before he was ever thought of as a probable candidate for the Presidency of the Union, saw straight when he declared in a public address: "There is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence — the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." And it was these principles that worked upon the mind and heart of American people for two generations, urging them on with the force of indisputable logic to clean their own house before they could become fit heralds of liberty and freedom to the rest of the world. The one war — the Mexican — waged by the United States counter to the fundamental principles of the Constitution and counter to the sentiments of the Declaration of Independence, was denounced most vehemently by the leaders of thought of the day, and no true historian has attempted a justification of the depredation committed against a weaker neighbor.

Taking then the wars of America as a whole, they are an interpretation of the American spirit and true to the principles of American Democracy. The War of 1812 was in defense of human rights; that of 1898 against Spain was in defense of the oppressed and enslaved; and that of 1917 was against the last stand, we hope, of Imperialism *versus* Democracy. Compare with these the causes of war in the history of nations — national antagonism, racial hatred, pride and arrogance, oppression, and often religious intolerance. When the American fleet

and the American Army cleaned the Western Hemisphere of Spanish rule, it was in defense of millions who had long suffered conditions which debased manhood and made impossible the growth of liberty and freedom.

The World War may well be described as the last desperate throw of imperialism on the continent in the conflict between the people and their rulers. This conflict began in the Bill of Rights and the Magna Carta of the Middle Ages, and with varied fortunes continued to our day. It was only a question of time when the forces of democracy and those of tyrants would come into collision. They collided and we believe that the way is clear for the peoples of Europe as well as of America to establish government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Nothing proves more clearly America's sincerity as the defender of democracy than the part it played in this World War. Barbarous cruelty, ruthless horror, and defiance of all laws of earth and heaven welded seven nations in defense of democracy. When America entered the conflict, the defenders of liberty the world over welcomed its assistance. It could not have stayed out if twentieth-century Americans were true to the principles of the two documents their fathers had given the world "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity."

America has entered into world politics. The advent of the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone, the wireless, and aërial navigation have brought the nations of Europe and Asia much closer to America than they were

in the days when the founders of the Republic preached the doctrine of non-interference in foreign politics. The World War has left the door of international politics wide open, and the part played by our country in the peace conference is such that, willy-nilly, the United States must take a hand in world politics. The American humane point of view in the treatment of international questions had been advanced by Olney, Hay, and others, but at no previous time was it done on a world stage, as on this occasion; never before were the nations of the world so impressed by the fact that the United States stands for humanitarian intervention in behalf of the oppressed peoples of the world in international adjustments.

The humane way is the American way. Our statesmen have not always paid strict regard to the principles of law when the heart strings were pulling in a different direction. Authorities on international law have looked askance on the humanitarian intervention of the United States in foreign affairs, but the influence exerted by "the diplomacy of humanity" has been very potent. When Greece was wrestling with the Turkish Empire in a brave struggle to extricate itself from the bondage of generations, the sympathy shown the Greeks and the free expression of public opinion in America in the rightness of their cause were aids much appreciated by the oppressed.

Another episode which reflects very clearly the democratic sentiments and humane sympathies of the people of the United States was the reception given to Louis Kossuth in this country. This patriot was involved in

the attempt made at revolution in Hungary in 1848. He and his followers were not able to overthrow the Hapsburg dynasty and they had to flee the country. They reached Turkey, where Kossuth and his company were held captives. The sympathy of the United States was with the captives, and a motion prevailed in Congress requesting the President to put at the service of these men public vessels and bring them to this country. When Kossuth came, the whole nation rejoiced; he was dined at the White House and was given a public dinner by the House of Representatives. The Austrian representative in Washington protested against these demonstrations in favor of a man virtually an outcast from Austria-Hungary because of the part he played in an attempted revolution against the existing government, and not receiving any satisfaction while Kossuth was making a triumphal tour of the United States, he was recalled by his government as a protest against "the principal promoters" of the Kossuth episode with whom he could no longer continue in official intercourse.

Crimes of intolerance and barbarity have been committed in foreign lands and nowhere have they more shocked the moral and humane sympathies of civilized men than in America. The diplomatic services of the United States have stood for the principles of righteousness and freedom, justice and humanity, and have never failed to bring this fact to the notice of the countries where the laws of God and man have been set at defiance. When, in the early 'forties of the last century, cruel massacres

because of religious creed broke out in the empire of the Turk, President Van Buren informed the American minister in Constantinople that he should exert his influence with the Sultan to mitigate these horrors. In 1902, John Hay, Secretary of State, addressed a note to the government of Rumania in an effort to induce it to reconsider measures and laws that would oppress the Jewish subjects of that kingdom. In 1904, Theodore Roosevelt protested to the Russian government when the horrors of the massacre of the Jews in Kishneff were known. These and other instances show how the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution rule the actions of officials, not only at home, but also abroad. They are protests in the interest of humanity, they are efforts to put a stop to acts which shock the moral sympathies of a people that has done more than any other to pave the way for the democratic idea of freedom of speech, of the press, and of religion.

America has entered into the commerce of the world because of its industrial interests. It has insisted that the waters of the earth should be free to the commerce of the nations. With this purpose in view, it has consistently internationalized the Panama Canal and thrown it open to the commerce of the world. It secured the opening of the St. Lawrence to the nations of the world, while its own rivers and harbors are kept open on that principle. It approached the governments of South America to throw open the La Plata and the Amazon rivers " in accordance with the fixed principles of international law as channels

opened by nature for the commerce of all nations," and its good offices were rewarded by the governments directly interested. When Russia threw its arms over the northwestern coast of America and issued an order that no vessel should come within one hundred miles of the coast, the government of the United States made it very clear to Russia that any attempt on its part to extend its rule on this continent would be contested. Then was established the famous "Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule," that the American continents were no longer to be regarded as territory where any European power could in future establish colonies. The result has been that the Western Hemisphere is free of the form of government that has brought Europe again and again to the verge of ruin. It has been the basis upon which peace has been maintained on the American continents, so that weak republics may grow strong and fear nothing from European or Asiatic imperialism.

Legislatures, in home affairs, have invariably defended the rights of the people when these are invaded, and never has intrenched wealth or privilege long been able to withstand the will of the people in America. The United States is young, and yet has acquired much experience. The Constitution was adopted by about three and a half million people; to-day we are nearly a hundred and ten million.

The growth in material possessions has been most remarkable; the nation has passed from the agricultural to the industrial stage. During the nation's brief exist-

ence, the steam engine, the steamship, telegraph, telephone, wireless, air navigation have been invented. These have brought Europe closer to America than Chicago was to New York in the 'fifties of the last century. These new agencies of progress have had a serious effect upon the workings of law and its adaptation to national need. "A new nation seems to have been created which the old formulæ (of the Constitution) do not fit or vitally interpret," and the important task attacked by legislatures and the courts in the last fifty years has been to make this fundamental document meet new conditions. When we consider the work done it has been wonderful, and taking it as a whole, the trend has invariably been in defense of popular rights as against the strong man who squeezed the people.

Another factor in the complicated task is the multiplying of laws by state legislatures. They now number forty-eight, each grinding out laws to meet the needs as expressed by the people in the several states. In every state, however, it may be said that the laws reflect the consciousness of the people, and are really an exposition of how they have defended themselves against the evils that were threatening their liberty. Hence, running through the legislatures of the land, both state and federal, is a strong will emanating from the majority to restrain the few who exploit the nation.

The employer who directed his employees how to vote, does so now at his peril; the financiers who spanned the continent by the clever device of holding companies,

cannot do so now; the grip of a group of strong bankers concentrating their power at one point has been broken; the official active in politics must cease such practices, or quit his job; the owner of coal lands, oil wells, artesian wells, forests, and mineral wealth cannot do as he pleases, the interest of the public must be consulted; the owner of a non-navigable stream may lose his rights to it if the waters are necessary for a populous city; the butcher and the baker, the canner and the dairy farmer, the chemist and the druggist, cannot manage their business as they have a mind to, for the products they put on the market may injure public health; a man cannot marry whomsoever he pleases, he must conform to state laws; a man can no longer dispose of his property as he wills, he must yield a part of it to the state as a tribute to the collective interest of the people; the parent is no longer judge of what education his child is to receive or when he ought to go to work, these are regulated by the state; women and minors who work are not to determine when they can sell their labor and how many hours they may work, the state lays down laws; strikes may be regulated by the government or the labor union; wages cannot be reduced when a grinding taskmaster has a mind to do so; conditions of employment must be decent; insurance must be provided against accidents; compensation must be paid the dependents of the injured breadwinner; and the manufacturer who produces shoddy goods must make this known. The people have demanded protection against great combinations of capital, and the law

has been so shaped that to-day the state virtually controls many corporations; hence the railroads cannot charge what the traffic will bear, ships cannot sail as they please, telegraph and telephone companies cannot set the rates according to will, and the books of big firms must be kept open for government inspection.

These adaptations of the law to meet the needs of the people clearly show the drift. The process goes on continuously; it is what Marshall meant when he said, "Constitutions are not made, but grow." In the life of the nation, this passing from individualism to collectivism has been rapid, and in no country have greater changes been made than here in America. We confess that we suffer from the multiplicity of laws turned out, but amid the confusion we see that the people are resolved to adapt the existing government machinery to meet the need of changing times. They are determined that "the Colossus of business, uniform, concentrated, poised upon a single plan, governed, not by votes but by commands, seeking no service but profits," must be prevented from exploitation. This harmonizing of conflicting interests goes on daily, and by peaceful and patient processes, in which the best brain of the country is involved.

During the year that America was engaged in the World War, many things were done by the government which clearly pointed to retrogression rather than progress. Suppressive measures were the result of the exigencies of the hour; the extreme exercise of

police power in some instances can only be explained by hysteria.

In post-bellum days we are still suffering from over-officiousness of government officials. The arrogance and daring of radical agencies anger and disturb the equanimity of those charged with keeping the peace, and in their anxiety they overstep the boundary of moderation and discretion. These are only aberrations of a temporary character. When the world again comes to order, and the people live in peace, these excesses will disappear. We believe that the governments of both state and nation will respond to the demand of the greater number, and that the rapid advancement made in adapting and interpreting the principles of the Constitution in defense of the interest of the majority will continue. Some progressives demand a "new social bond . . . which will serve . . . as an impulse, an inspiration, and a leaven." Whatever the "new social bond" has to offer, it must pass through the mind of the people, must take the path along which progress has been realized in the past, and must come as the dawn, — first the glow and then the full light of day.

In the meantime, let any one conversant with the American spirit know and perceive how it has manifested itself in the law of the land. This is especially the obligation resting upon those interested in Americanization. They must be convinced that the trend at home and abroad is in defense of popular rights. In no other way can they bring the idea clearly before the foreign-

born in America and make them see it. If we cannot be thoroughly convinced of this truth, if we cannot affirm without equivocation that the spirit of America has kept open the way of progress to the weak and the oppressed of the world, then we are not qualified to be the heralds of Americanization to the foreign-born. If in home affairs as well as in foreign, the plan of American government has failed to secure the blessings of peace to the majority of the people in the land, then American democracy has been a failure, and we have no message to the aliens in the country. The workings of the American spirit, as I have studied it in the two great documents given us by the revolutionists, as exhibited in the history of the country and the institutions established, as shown in the policies which have dominated the action of the several states, and in the federal government, convince me that the experiment in democracy on this continent is not a failure, and this being my firm conviction, notwithstanding the lapses and shortcomings in the story, I can take a message of hope and faith to the millions of foreign-born in the nation.

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CHAPTER II

THE AMERICANIZATION DIRECTOR

I ATTENDED a conference with twenty-five men to discuss the question of the choice of an Americanization director for an industrial plant in which fifty per cent of the employees were foreign-born. The men in the conference represented the best brain of that industrial plant, and thought they knew exactly what kind of man this director should be. They selected a gentleman whom they all knew, but who knew nothing of the foreigner or of the work for which he was chosen. The man was proposed by the works' manager as a well-equipped candidate for the position. I asked some questions as to the qualifications of the proposed candidate for the job, and the men confessed that he knew nothing of the foreign-born, had no experience in working with them, had no idea what they needed, and had no program or plan of organization to suggest. He was a good fellow, had a good character, was perfectly safe, was popular among the managerial forces, but he did not know anything about Americanization. I suggested that it would be wise to secure a trained leader for so important a work, when the head draftsman said: "He is a good man, we know him, he is popular, why

won't he do?" If this same gentleman chose a man as his assistant, he would demand something more than good fellowship, geniality, and character. He would demand skill in the use of tools, training in the art of drafting, capacity in calculation, etc.; but he did not think special training was necessary for the far more delicate task of shaping the minds and hearts of peoples of twenty different races to American ideals.

The work of Americanization, which is the molding and shaping of the ideas of foreign-born men as to what America stands for, the training of the foreign-born in the *modus operandi* of democratic institutions as found in these United States, the informing of these men as to the history of the country and the founders of the Republic, need trained leadership. We spend millions in experiments in scientific farming, in exterminating parasites, in unveiling the contents of the crust of the earth, in raising the weight and quality of hogs, cows, sheep, and horses, and trained men do the work. The money is well spent. But when it comes to shaping the ideas and concepts of fifteen million people of foreign birth according to American standards, many believe that it can be done by untrained workers who have more enthusiasm than knowledge, more fervor than intelligence, more oratorical powers than practical wisdom.

Before this work can be done, the facts of the case must be studied and a practical plan of work offered. Public meetings have a place in Americanization, but they alone will not solve the problem. Americanism needs a band

of consecrated men and women to meet the foreign-born in their small halls, institute classes in their club houses or their dance halls, or turn the boarding house into a classroom. Trained leadership is needed for the work, and it can only be secured by mapping out courses which should be taken by those who hope to be Americanization directors.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the factors which should influence the policy of the worker among the foreign-born.

1. The Background of Immigrant Races. The Americanization director should know much about the background of immigrant races in America. There are possibly more than fifty different peoples coming to the United States from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the seas. They are not all distinct races, but they are distinct groups, having a separate history, unique customs, distinct tongues or dialects, a character they want recognized, a calendar they observe, distinct political forms in which they have been drilled, and special religious exercises in which they have been raised from childhood. And the man or woman who makes an honest effort to find out what agencies have molded the lives of the several peoples in the immigration inflow will be broad in his sympathies, tolerant of varying standards, able to understand men who cling to old country ways and look with distrust on much that the native-born appreciates.

I do not mean that every worker among the foreign-born, before he begins work, should familiarize himself

with the fifty different varieties of peoples coming to the United States. The worker will seldom meet in any locality more than twenty varieties, but if he is to do good work among these peoples of twenty different groups, he must know from where they came, what are the economic conditions in the country whence they came, what are the forms of government, what are the prevailing religious forms, what are some of the customs, what are some of their leading holidays, what they commemorate and who are their leading men — heroes, statesmen, poets, and scientists — who have contributed to the advancement of their civilization.

Race consciousness is in the blood, and no injection of Americanism will be able to get it out of the system. It is wholly independent of the size of the country from which men come, or of the number of men forming the people; indeed, it is often strongest in people who have no country which they can call their own. The Jew and the Pole have long been without a country, but in no people is race consciousness more pronounced. The Irish had little self-determination, and yet no immigrant people in the United States has clung more tenaciously to race consciousness. Nationalism is one of the strongest ties in the human soul. When men cry, "Down with the foreign press in America," and demand federal legislation to make it a crime to publish a foreign newspaper in the country, they strike at one of the strongest passions in the human soul; it is as foolish to forbid talking in a foreign tongue as to forbid the issuing of a

foreign newspaper, for both are rooted in race consciousness, and no legislation of this character will be effective in a democracy. Let the Americanization worker remember this fact of race consciousness, and use it for the promotion of the Americanization program.

The director who qualifies aright will study the story of the peoples among whom he works, know something about their heroes and poets, their national joys and sorrows, and appreciate what is beautiful in their art and songs. The Polish maid who hears the national Polish hymn played and sung in the home where she earns her daily bread, will put more heart into her work and more good will in her service. The Greek who knows that you admire Pericles and Lysander, Epaminondas and Themistocles, will think more of you and show you greater favor. The Russian who knows that you appreciate Russian music and the poems of Pushkin, some of the songs of Glinka and the writings of Gorki, will open his heart and his mind and become as clay in the hand of the potter. The Lithuanian is dignified and conservative, but talk to him about the antiquity of his people, that his people were in Europe long before the Slav, tell him that his tongue is akin to the Sanskrit, and that the music of his nation is as rich as it is sweet: you will get a hearing, you will never find a stancher friend. Every race has its epochs and its sacred days, its festivities and its holidays, its commemorations and celebrations, and the Americanization director who knows the meaning of these days and seasons will multiply his points of

contact. These advantages the worker will gain by honest study of the history of the peoples among whom he works.

2. **The Difference between Peoples.** The Americanization worker will know the difference between immigrant races and the difference between groups of the same people. The Italian differs very much from the Finn, and accordingly in the work of Americanization the lines of approach must differ. Any attempt to form a class in English or civics by combining peoples as far removed as the Greek and the White Russian is doomed to failure. Take the Italians, — those coming from Turin differ from Sicilians, and an effort to combine both in an organization for Americanization will not succeed.

Foreign-born men of the same nationality are divided into groups according to the place from which they come. Greeks from parts of the Turkish Empire have very little in common with Greeks from Athens. Poles from Germany have little in common with those of their race coming from Russia—they are creatures of environments wholly different and come from civilizations having very different standards. Some Portuguese are among the poorest and most ignorant of immigrant groups; it would be very unwise to use the same program of Americanization with these as with a group of Swedes or Norwegians. The Germans from Germany are a well-trained and literate people, but the descendants of those Germans who settled in Russia in the time of Peter the Great, who cling to the language and the religion of their fathers,

and who because of persecution have come to the United States, are a very different people. They were born and raised in Russia, but were not a part of it, and neither are they a part of modern Germany, although they converse and worship in German.

European nations have for centuries fought with each other and notwithstanding the efforts made by the Peace Conference to reconcile these people, the memory of ancient conflicts will not die out, and the director ought to know something of the relation between them. The Slovaks were subjected and oppressed by the Magyars of Hungary for generations — they will not forget it. Ask an educated Slovak what he thinks of the Magyars, and he will express himself in terms which are the result of persecution, intolerance, oppression, and imprisonment. These jealousies, prejudices, and conflicts have their roots in centuries of antagonism and rivalry and will not be forgotten in America, and the Americanization worker will avoid many mistakes if he knows the family quarrels of European countries. Half the fights and quarrels in drinking dens, at weddings, and at dances are due to antipathies and hatreds having their roots in the Old World.

There is little fellowship and coöperation between Serb and Croat, although they are the same people, speaking the same language, and descending from the same stock. The Ukrainians are divided into factions in the United States, due partly to politics and partly to religion. The people of the Balkans have their jealousies and antipathies,

and Americanization work among them has often failed and the workers have wondered why. They did not know the antagonism engendered in the Old World. You cannot mix oil and water, and no more will people who have been enemies from time immemorial join in one common program of uplift for the community. Our task is to raise them above the prejudices and misunderstandings having their roots in the Old World; this is possible if the director is patient and wise. The farther removed these people are from Old World ways, and the more they adapt themselves to American ways, the easier it is to unite them in one common brotherhood.

3. **A Definite Program.** The Americanization worker should have a definite program. As before suggested, this must be modified according to the group served; nevertheless, he should have clearly before him a well-defined program of service with the foreign-born.

The English-speaking immigrant differs very greatly from the Syrian or Armenian, and yet both need the service contemplated in Americanization work. The program, however, must be considerably modified before it answers the needs of Scandinavians as compared with the peoples from the Balkan states. The Swedes and Norwegians are versed in the principles of democracy; they understand very readily what we mean when we talk of American ideals; they have little difficulty in understanding our political machinery; but this is not the case with the peoples from southeastern Europe. The first principles of American democracy must be explained

to these. It takes some time for the brightest among them to understand that the government in the United States is in the hands of the people, and that all public officials are the servants of the people. When the teacher has put the facts clearly before these people, and believes they understand, their questions again and again show the workings of their minds in the old channels — they look for autocratic power of lord or sovereign.

In many New England towns we find many different peoples living side by side — Swedes, Russians, Poles, Portuguese, and French Canadians. These people, representing very different states of civilization, form the major part of the population in many cities. Each group needs Americanization, but it requires good judgment and discernment to prepare material to do the work. This is the reason why the promoter should know something of the background of the immigrants, and especially the form of government under which they lived. Every naturalization class affords an opportunity to study comparative government, if the teacher knows the nature of the government of the land whence the men came. The peoples of southeastern Europe are most teachable and receptive; they do not profess to know all that is worth knowing about democracy, and they are most anxious to join a class to learn how the people in America govern themselves. This is not the case with many immigrants coming from northwestern Europe.

The Educational Bureau and the Bureau of Naturalization in Washington have shown commendable zeal in

encouraging aliens to become citizens; when, however, they send the same literature to the Canadian declaring his intention to become an American citizen as they send to the Rumanian, they inevitably anger the man from Canada. We are told, by men who ought to know, that there is more real democracy in Canada and Great Britain than in America. This may be true. Nevertheless, the British subject who comes to America has much to learn about the way the people rule in the United States. Americanization work is needed among the tens of thousands of British subjects in the United States, but, unfortunately, they are among the most reluctant of immigrants to identify themselves with America. One of the most successful classes organized for the study of American government was a group of fifty Englishmen, taught by a capable lawyer of British stock. The group met once a week, and during the winter carried on a study in comparative government — America and Great Britain. Discussions were often very lively, but the interest was kept up and the men thoroughly enjoyed the course. It was a kind of round table discussion and afforded an outlet to pride of race.

The principles of American government must be taught to a group of Portuguese or Russians in a very elementary way. One of the most difficult groups to interest in Americanization is the Mexican. This is due partly to friction, misunderstanding, unadjusted wrongs between neighboring peoples, and partly to ancestral pride. In the southwest we have communities in which the

Mexican population is the dominant element, and these men believe that the Spanish language is more beautiful, more dignified, and richer than the English; they are also taught that Americans shamefully exploited the Mexicans. Men in this state of mind are difficult of approach. One of the first steps is to establish confidence between Americans and Mexicans. Before successful work can be done, a special program must be prepared for Mexicans in the southwest, and placed in the hands of men who know these people and have faith in them.

Many persons, marking this insistence on adapting the program of Americanization to the previous culture of the various peoples, ask in despair, "How can we adapt programs to meet the needs of fifty different peoples?" The answer is: It is not necessary to modify the program for every group, but it is necessary to study the group in order to render good service. I have just passed a bakery. How varied are the kinds of bread the baker sells! Different kinds of loaves, different kinds of buns, different kinds of designs, — but all bread. I asked the baker: "Why do you go to the trouble of preparing these different varieties of bread? Is not every variety made of the same wheat; are they not all baked in the same oven; are they not all prepared by the same hands?" He answered: "Yes, but I must do this to meet the tastes of my customers. Some ask for French rolls, others want Vienna bread, others soft rolls, some hard rolls, etc. All come from the same wheat, but I must study the tastes of different palates, for the one great

purpose of doing business." That is exactly the way with Americanization. The principles of American Democracy are clearly laid down in the Constitution; they have been applied, expounded, and confirmed in the experience of the nation and in international relations, but they must be adapted in different ways to meet the varying needs and capacities of immigrant peoples.

4. Genuine Faith in American Democracy. The Americanization worker should be a genuine believer in American democracy. There are other democracies, and each differs from the other in form and content; but the worker in Americanization must know the American brand and live up to the faith that is in him. Cleisthenes established a democracy in Athens, and it meant a few thousand electors and tens of thousands of slaves. It is possible to have a democratic form of government, and so to circumscribe the power of the electorate that from twenty-five to fifty per cent of the potential vote of the country is disfranchised.

Democracy in a country that is bound by tradition, that has a hereditary tenureship in land, that has a titled aristocracy intrenched by centuries of custom and usage, is very different from the democracy we cherish in this country. In Russia they have a custom of throwing a richly embroidered pall over the rough coffin in which the body of a poor peasant is incased, for there is a belief prevalent among the peasants that every Russian at death becomes a priest and a king. The faith of America is that every citizen, while he lives, is a priest and a king,

regardless of social status or wealth. Faith in the common man is the crowning glory of America. This faith has its roots not only in racial consciousness, but in humanity. When America kept open its gates to men of character and health from all the nations of the earth, it was true to the principles laid down by the men who wrote the Declaration of Independence. "Humanity is humanity" must be a cardinal principle in the faith of every Americanization worker.

5. Faith in Immigrants. The Americanization worker must have real faith in the foreign-born. He must believe that these men who come from foreign countries have in them the stuff of which self-governing citizens are made. The impoverished White Russian, the illiterate Portuguese, the stolid Ukrainian, the ignorant Turk, may appear very unlikely material for the coming generations of Americans, and yet this material must be incorporated into the fabric of democracy, else the aspirations of man for the abolition of all imperialism will be defeated.

It is the glory of America to have taken most unlikely groups of immigrants and fashioned them into sons and daughters of this Republic. Human nature bound by tradition and crushed by tyranny, want, and lack of opportunity, gives no indication of its potencies when transplanted to a richer soil and put under conditions of freedom and opportunity. Favorable environment makes all the difference in the world in the growth of plants. A herd of cattle fed on the arid acreage of

Arizona will never be anything but scrawny and ill kept; transfer it to the rich pasture land of Iowa, and each head will grow sleek and fat.

Southeastern Europe, whence we receive the major part of our immigrants, has been consumed by war, stultified by custom, fed on by cunning parasites whose chief aim was to keep the people ignorant of their rights and true to the ways their fathers trod. The people never had economic freedom, opportunity did not knock at their door, for landlordism and bureaucracy had banished it from the land. They were born to a certain social status, and were expected to stay in it during life. Their lives were spent in penury and stupidity. It was the lot assigned them by divine arrangement, and to break away from it or to complain of its hardship and limitations was to tempt Providence. What likely manhood and womanhood could grow under such conditions? The surprise is that they had will power enough to make up their minds to migrate to a land where they could make better use of their God-given powers. Thousands of them have made something of themselves besides clodhoppers; they are rising to the stature of men and women of a self-governing nation; they are copying the American type; they hold it with reverence and gladness before their children; and what they need more than anything else are men and women who have faith in them — faith firm and strong that even from this unlikely material America can raise sons and daughters to democracy.

The Americanization worker must have this faith, else

he cannot do the work to which he is called. And not only must he himself have this faith, but he must also impart it to others who have forgotten the rock whence they were hewn. Men of native birth and of native parentage have departed from the faith of their fathers and aligned themselves with the philosophy of India, which teaches the caste system; they believe in divine right and despise common clay; they look with contempt upon the "foreigners" as hewers of wood and carriers of water. Ninety per cent of the immigrants belong to this lowly class, and upon these they look with disdain. The ten per cent of immigrants who are highly skilled workers or professional men are more inclined toward aristocracy than democracy. Much snobbishness is found among imported aristocrats as well as among the non-American Americans. Their faith may best be illustrated by the comment of a German of Prussian ancestry, who kept in shelter in New York when his friends were conducting the "successful retreat" to Berlin. This man was cultured and intelligent, and felt that the power once wielded by autocracy in Germany was hopelessly lost; when the establishment of a democracy was hinted at, his comment was: "What can the common herd do; they are like so many cows; the brutes know as much about government as they do." This un-American state of mind is found in Americans. The foreign-born have suffered because of it, and although it has materially diminished in force and venom in the last five years, it is still too common. The Americanization worker will take account of this and plan to

bring the message of Americanization to native-born persons who need it.

The Americanization worker must also keep in mind the antipathy of the English-speaking worker, of both native and foreign birth, to the foreign-speaking. The worker of British, Irish, or Canadian stock has as deep-rooted prejudice against the foreign-speaking as the native-born. The roots of this antagonism are buried in economic conflict, and in varying standards of living. The English-speaking worker believes that this man disturbs the labor market, undercuts him, makes it impossible for labor to present a united front to capital, is satisfied to work under conditions that are wholly unsatisfactory to "white men," and is a constant menace to the American standard of living. It is for these reasons that the English-speaking worker is unsympathetic toward and suspicious of the "foreigner." He is afraid that the foreigners will lower wages and pull down working conditions. Who does not sympathize with the native-born wage-earner in this conflict? Man cannot live on bread alone; but when men of varying standards of living compete with one another, invariably the man with the lower standard wins.

There is much to justify this state of mind in the English-speaking worker. If, however, the program of the Americanization director is to succeed, the sympathy of the English-speaking worker must be enlisted. This can best be done by emphasizing the fact of the international character of labor. The native-born worker

knows that, willy-nilly, he must compete with foreign-speaking wage-earners. The whole world is bound by steel and copper into one common brotherhood, and if American wage-earners will not fraternize with the foreign-speaking wage-earners in America, they will have to compete with the product of their labor in American markets as well as in the markets of the world. The products of the shops of Japan, of the furnaces of China, of the manufacturing concerns of the Continent, find their way to the markets of America.

The manufacturers of America are demanding a merchant marine, and their prime argument is that we are an industrial nation and must send our goods to the markets of the world. That means that the products of American labor will compete with the products of wage-earners in every industrial country in the world. These facts emphasize the inevitable interdependence of labor the world over. The native-born worker recognizes this, and especially has it been emphasized in the years of the World War. The workers of the world are destined to be brought into closer union, and the common interests of all must be considered. In view of this, is it not a step in the right direction for wage-earners in the United States to show friendly feeling and sympathy toward the fifty varieties of workers in the United States? The amelioration of the condition of the workers of the world is largely in the hands of American wage-earners, and the only foundation it can safely rest on is cosmopolitan coöperation and sympathy.

The Americanization worker can help to bring about

that better day by directing the thoughts of the English-speaking wage-earners along these lines. Sympathy with and friendly feeling for the foreign-born will bless him who gives and him who receives. To all those workers in America who believe in religious ideals, the higher claims of spiritual values in men of all races and creeds will suffice. A large percentage of workers in America worship at altars where men of fifty varieties are found kneeling. If their faith is genuine, their penetration to its meaning thorough, and the significance of a common Father understood, they will not find any difficulty in fraternizing with these men.

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CHAPTER III

THE APPROACH TO THE FOREIGN-BORN

BEGINNERS invariably ask: What shall we do first in Americanization work? Where shall we begin? What are the first steps? This chapter is an attempt to answer these questions.

Scores of men engaged in Americanization work have made their way to the hearts of foreign-born men because of their native goodness and sympathetic nature. They were pioneers in the work, had no experience to guide them, but they made good because of their strong common sense and their unfeigned sympathy for humanity. No matter how much teaching and training a man has, if he does not possess a large amount of horse sense, a genuine love of humanity, he will never be able to find the path which leads to the hearts of the fifty varieties of immigrants in the United States.

All men are not alike; we differ in customs and habits, and the Americanization worker will soon find this out. He must, however, be prepared to help all classes of foreign-born men in a community. He will see housing conditions which are a disgrace to twentieth-century standards; he will meet men who either do not know how or do not care to observe sanitary rules in eating; and some who take

pride in dirt and coarseness rather than in cleanliness and refinement. The earnest worker cannot afford to be fastidious, he must be inured to the objectionable environment or the distasteful habit for the sake of the man whom he serves. A passion for humanity dominates his life, and he is willing to endure all things, if only he may bring men and women to American standards. Taking for granted, then, good judgment and love of humanity — God-given qualities which no education can instill — the following points will help the director qualified by nature to do Americanization work:

1. Know the Field. Know the nations living in the city where you serve; find out from what part of the world they came; see where they live and where they work. Do this wisely and judiciously, and don't spend too long at it. You should begin constructive work as soon as possible.

It is not necessary for a man to spend a month to find out all the facts about his foreign-born neighbors before he begins work. If he attacks the question in a large city, it is not necessary for him to know all the foreign-born population of that city before beginning work. It is better for him to divide the city into sections and to study one section at a time; when he knows enough about the foreign-born living in that part of the city, he should begin work — let him start something. When the work is well started and faithful volunteer helpers are put in charge of it, he can then attack another section and do the same. Every big city is an aggregation of small centers,

and the magnitude of the problem loses its terror when attacked piecemeal.

In grouping the foreign-born it is well to divide them into the two main divisions: the northwestern and the southeastern Europeans. There are groups which cannot be squeezed into either of these, such as the Asiatics, the Indians, the Africans, and the Malays. These groups are, however, in the minority and will, in the industrial centers of the country, except on the coast, form the minor part of the task confronting the Americanization worker. The peoples of South America, of Mexico, and of Canada, with rare exceptions, will fall into the one or the other of the two main divisions. The reason why this division is advocated is the difference between the peoples who come from these two sections of Europe. It is a difference in civilization due to the cultural environment and industrial development of the several sections of the Continent. The Turk and the Scandinavian differ in culture, in industrial training, in political ideas, in standards of living, in social customs, in religious usages, and in ethical concepts. All this has much to do with the Americanization program.

The best source of information as to the number and the character of the foreign-born will be the census. The director should not pass by the federal census because it is a few years old. It has its value until the new one appears. The information is generally found in the volume on population under the caption of place of birth. Some states take a census every fifth year of each

decade, thus supplementing that of the federal government. These two sources will give the approximate foreign-born population of cities of twenty-five thousand population and over. The number will not be accurate, for no census, however carefully taken, is accurate the day after it is taken. It is a guide which the worker cannot do without, and it is the best available. Other supplementary information is needed. This may be secured by investigation.

If a foreign newspaper is printed in town, the editor knows fairly accurately the number of his countrymen in the city. The postmaster often knows much about the foreign-born people in town; the mail carrier whose route is in that section of the city where the foreign colony is knows more. The leaders of the respective nationalities should be interviewed. The priest or pastor of the foreign church will know how many families he has in that parish. Storekeepers in the neighborhood will know the people. The political satellite in charge of that ward will be able to tell what is the foreign vote. All these sources of information will help. Of course, the several estimates will not tally, and the worker must compare the figures with those of the census and make his own deductions. But better than exact figures are the contacts he has made.

2. Know Where the Foreign-born Work. Outside the influence of family, work and working conditions have most to do in shaping the thought and life of the immigrants. Many foreigners work shifts of ten and twelve hours, and sometimes fourteen hours. They follow the

instruction of an English-speaking workman or English-speaking boss. They are under command and no body of men is better disciplined to obedience and hard work. This very dependence of the foreign-born on the English-speaking workmen or management disposes them to take their ideas of America from the conduct of or the treatment received from these men. Every foreign-born man coming to America has a high ideal of this country; if these ideals are abandoned, it is due to their being torn to shreds by unjust and sometimes cruel treatment.

No one can shape the foreign-born's ideas of America as can the English-speaking foreman and fellow workman. The tone and the conduct of the foreman can destroy the foreigner's love for America or make him long to be identified with the country. It is often a fact that the first English words learned by the foreign-born are curse words. When they begin to talk English, every other word is an oath of some sort. When they wish to express themselves strongly, it is in a flow of profanity more gross and vulgar than any used by the men from whom they learned to swear. Of course, they do not know the meaning of the words they use and imagine they are doing a clever thing when using them, for the American laughs at them. They were not accustomed to such profanity in the Old World; they believe that they are being Americanized by copying the profanity of foul-tongued fellow workers.

It is also well known that unscrupulous foremen impose upon the foreign-born by not paying them the standard wage. These bosses take advantage of the ignorance

of the alien and pride themselves on the supposed fact that he does not know better. In many instances this is the case, but the men do not remain long in their ignorance; when they find out that they have been the victims of a hard and unscrupulous taskmaster, the impression will not be easily obliterated. Bodily scars received in the mines go with the man to the grave, and many scars inflicted on the mind of the foreign-born by coarse and conscienceless men in positions of responsibility are not removed as long as the men live. Foremen and the English-speaking workmen guilty of inflicting wounds of this nature ought to be the objects of as zealous treatment as the foreign-born; indeed, of the two groups under consideration, the English-speaking is farther removed from American democratic ideals than the foreign-born, and need more careful attention, for they hinder the progress of Americanization in the industry.

The Americanization worker familiar with working conditions among foreigners will find them doing the chores in the industries, that is, the unskilled work. It cannot be otherwise, for the vast majority have no mechanical skill. They work in dirt and dust, in heat and steam, in vapor and water, and the question of Americanization is often involved in the question of conditions of employment. Men who work long hours under conditions that are enervating to the strongest men, will not attend evening classes. Men who work eight hours can be organized for educational work.

What the Americanization worker should know is the

conditions under which the foreigners whom he serves work, in order that he may know what to expect. Men who work around vats in a sugar refinery for twelve hours out of every twenty-four will not sit in class for another two hours to learn English, no matter how much they need the instruction. Men who work around blast furnaces or who are employed around coke ovens for twelve hours a day may not work very hard, but they will not come to classes to study. The director will do well to visit the industries employing aliens, see what work they do, what are the working conditions, and what are the hours the men work; this knowledge will help him in Americanization work, for then he will know what to expect from the men whom he hopes to teach.

The worker who knows what work men and women do will be able to adapt the material used in the classroom to meet their need. The foreign-born is very practical. He wants what is useful. The same principle dominates his quest after education. He wants that which he can use in his daily life. The teacher in charge of Americanization work, who knows the work life of the foreign-born, can prepare material to supplement the written lesson which will interest the student. Many teachers fall down right here. They know little or nothing of the work or the working conditions of the immigrant coming to night school. Schoolbooks often used to teach foreigners the English language contain nothing that deals with the work life of the men. They are not tradesmen, they are not skilled workers, they are men engaged in coarse

work of great variety, and no one book contains material that is of interest to the many types of unskilled workers.

The promoter should study the work life of foreign-born men and women in the city and discover material which he knows the men need, put it in proper form, and in the normal course given the teachers and workers, bring it to their attention and tell them how best to use it. If the students are men employed in the copper mines of Calumet, they need to learn mining terms, the names of tools used, the process of mining, and working regulations. These are very different from the terms used, the tools handled, and the methods of work in mining coal. When we studied the terms used in the bituminous coal fields of Pennsylvania as compared with those used in the anthracite fields in the same state, we found that two sets of lessons were necessary. All illiterates are anxious to write their names, the addresses of their houses, the names of the firms for which they work, the towns in which they live, and the words United States America. These are local matters and must be attended to by the director.

The men in classes will be glad to see the Americanization director at their places of work. As stated in an earlier part of this chapter, he should not delay the actual work of helping men until he has completed a thorough investigation. Let him begin work as soon as possible, and while projecting constructive work keep up his investigation. He will possibly know many foreigners before he knows anything about their working conditions. When he visits the industries, he will know many men and meet them at

their work; they will be glad to see him. This should be the ambition of every Americanization promoter; he should be known in the industry as well as in the classroom. It is only by bringing these two institutions together — work and school — that the Americanization director can be of practical benefit to the foreign-born. When the leader in Americanism in a city is as well known in the shop as in the school, in the factory as in the forum, in the mill as in the community meeting, then will the best work be done for the foreign-born men and boys.

3. Know the Foreign Colony. The Americanization worker should know the section of the city in which the foreign-born live. He should be acquainted with their housing conditions, and know what possibilities their particular section offers to house the activities of the proposed program.

To learn how the foreign-born are housed is important, for then the worker can find much material for suggestion in the classroom. Immigrants live in neither the best houses nor in the best localities in town. Towns wholly made up of immigrants are often unsightly and nasty. This is the case in many mining camps and communities. Manville in New Jersey, Barberton in Ohio, Chicopee in Massachusetts, etc., have not much to recommend them. In cities of industrial importance such as Detroit, Fall River, and Passaic, the foreign-born live in those parts of the city which are the oldest. These sections were once inhabited by the English-speaking people who have moved to better dwellings and a more desirable neighbor-

hood. It is not unusual to find many families of immigrants living in a house built for one family. Life under such conditions is not what it ought to be, and in many instances decency and proper standards cannot be observed. The Americanization worker should be acquainted with conditions, and a lecture given to the foreign group upon the danger of congestion in tenement houses will help them.

Many foreigners live in houses which should not stand in a civilized community. Town authorities, if moved by humane considerations, would condemn them as unfit for human occupation. Public conscience is awakening on this question, but it is far from being really awake yet. It is a mistake to imagine that the foreigners do not feel the contempt in which they are held when consigned to live in dwellings not fit to shelter beasts of burden. When I interviewed a priest and asked him about the housing of his parishioners, he said: "Come with me and I will show you." He took me to places that would be purgatory enough for the sins of a lifetime to have to live in them — they were dirty, rickety, dingy, dark, and crowded apartments, and the tenants paid four dollars a week per room rent.

The director asks: What shall I do? Rush to print? No. Bring these things to the attention of the proper people. A public-spirited director did this, and the result is new houses, commodious, sanitary, reasonable in rent, erected for the foreign-born. In another instance, a worker studied the housing conditions of the section of

town occupied by the foreign-born, got the facts well in hand, and rushed to print. The immediate result was malodorous publicity regarding community conditions and censure of the manufacturers. All the town was angry, the director had to leave, the tempest lasted a few days, and to-day the wretched housing condition of the foreign-speaking is exactly what it was years ago. I do not pretend to say what is the duty of the Americanization director when face to face with housing conditions among foreigners that are unsanitary, inhuman, un-Christian, but the point I wish to make is that he ought to know how the foreign-born live, in order to bring to their attention the housing standard which is considered the minimum under which men in the twentieth century should live.

The worker should also learn what possibilities the foreign colony affords for housing the activities he projects. He needs rooms for classes in English and naturalization; he needs a place to give a lecture, hold an entertainment, etc. These can best be given in the neighborhood where the foreign-born live, and in places frequented by them. Some towns planning work for aliens have tried to concentrate it in one place — the high school for instance. The high school, if centrally located, is far removed from where the foreign-born live, and these men and women will not walk a mile to classes in English. Classes should be opened in the neighborhood of the homes where they live, — in the public school in the foreign colony or in the lodge hall. If the neighborhood is searched diligently, many useful places will be found.

The places I have found available have been varied: the hall in the rear of the drinking place; the coöperative hall; the lodge room; the rear of a store; the dining room of a boarding house; an empty house; a vacant store; a barber shop after working hours; a shoe-shining parlor after working hours; the parochial school; the church hall; the public school; the recreational center. Of course, the group brought together is small; the number in a class should not be more than ten or fifteen; the dressing room of a public hall has often afforded room enough for a class.

I have always found foreign-born men most willing to coöperate. Refreshment and restaurant keepers have willingly put the hall or a room at the service of the promoter. Priests coöperate by giving the use of church halls and parochial schoolrooms. Men who have empty stores are willing to rent them at reasonable rentals, and in some instances have given the use of a room or two free of charge, with the understanding that they will be vacated when the landlord secures a tenant. When the work is put on a patriotic basis, few indeed are the men who are not willing to aid.

The use of the public school is commended. The one great trouble is the equipment; it is designed for the use of children, and when used by adults it is neither comfortable nor conducive to study. The classrooms for the higher grades are tolerable for certain groups, but when Slavs and Magyars are put in rooms used by fourth and fifth grade pupils, conditions are not favorable to study.

In some schools, in sections inhabited by immigrants, the school population is so large that the children can be taught only in the first five grades; they must be taken elsewhere for the sixth, seventh, and eighth grade work. In these schools, men studying English must sit at desks made for children of ten or eleven years. This means physical discomfort, and the men will not study under such conditions, although they would gladly learn our language. We also find in many places a prejudice in the mind of foreigners against assembling for instruction in buildings devoted to the instruction of children.

The Americanization director by careful study of the community will find many available places to carry on his work. If the foreign-born is to be Americanized, he must be given a place that is convenient and fairly well equipped to meet the needs of men.

4. Know the Club Life of Immigrants. The Americanization worker should study the club life of the foreign-born. The variety of clubs is great. Most nationalities have organizations that are national in their scope. This is the case with the Poles, Italians, Lithuanians, Slovenes, Greeks, etc. These societies are headed by men of patriotic sentiment, who sympathize with the program of Americanization. In the Polish National Alliance no one can be a national officer who is not a citizen of the United States; the same is true of branch officers; and delegates to national conventions must be citizens. The order also urges all its members to become citizens, and the national leaders in convention and other-

wise put before the members the advantages to be derived from citizenship. The Slovak National Society has in its constitution a clause urging all its members to learn English and become citizens of the United States. Italian leaders, in the national society, the United Sons of Italy, advocate the same, and some branches are actively promoting citizen clubs.

In many instances the men at the head of branch organizations are anxious to get outside aid, and when a practical program is submitted, they welcome it most cordially. Few indeed are the instances where this is not the state of mind of the leaders. I remember a branch of the Hungarian Society which gave a hearty welcome to the program when presented; the men agreed to give me a hearing the following Sunday when the members came together. On Sunday I could not get into the lodge. A lawyer — a politician — blocked my entrance to the meeting. It is possible for sinister leaders to defeat the work of Americanization through fear of losing their influence when enlightened agencies enter. Taken as a whole, the leaders of branches of national organizations are favorably disposed to a sane program of Americanization; the national leaders are invariably so.

There are many other kinds of societies among the foreign-born. Most of them are benevolent associations, having, besides the weekly benefits paid, an insurance feature. Besides these benefit societies, there are the Falcons among the Poles, the Sokols among the Czechs, and the Turnverein among the Germans. These societies

are composed of young men who meet for athletics as well as for social functions. They are invariably sympathetic with the Americanization program, and welcome the help the Americanization promoter can give. Some nationalities have clubs for self-improvement and culture. These are found among the Poles, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Finns, Bohemians, Jews, Russians, and others.

Within recent years many foreign-born men have organized clubs. They are found chiefly among the Slavs and Finns. I have gone into these clubs and found welcome. The leaders are alert and intelligent. They know that they and their people are handicapped as long as they do not have command of the language of the United States, and they are very eager to secure outside help to learn it. They are also anxious to learn all they can about the American form of government, and are keen on questions of history. The Americanization director should not keep away from these clubs. The better way is to visit them, install classes, give lectures, and conduct discussions, for the greater the light the less dangerous the program of radicalism. If the free atmosphere of Americanism penetrates these clubs, largely made up of radicals, the dangerous forms of radicalism will disappear.

Some foreign-born peoples have political clubs which are ephemeral in character. Most of them are organized before election for the purpose of marshaling the foreign vote; soon after the polling is over the club disbands. In some cities I have found political clubs of a permanent character; all the members are citizens and the leaders

carry on an active campaign to increase the membership of the club from among their countrymen. Many of the leaders are political aspirants and know that the larger the club the greater their influence in the community. In order to keep in touch with the men on the way to become citizens, they open the door of the club to men who have made their declarations of intention to become citizens.

The approach to these clubs is through the officers. The promoter will find out who these men are, put his program before them, state exactly what he is willing to do, and if possible arrange a date on which he can put his program before the members. When he puts the program before the members, let him emphasize the importance of learning English, the advantages of becoming a citizen of the United States, and the economic opportunities America offers to them and to their children. A demonstration of how English is taught, a lecture on the country from which the men have come, a few songs, etc., are also conducive to winning the men to the adoption of the program. In many instances, when the priest or pastor is favorable to the program, the men may be called together by him; if he urges the men to organize for Americanization, the work will have a good start.

In dealing with the men be as definite as possible. Settle upon the night on which to meet. Let it be the leader's duty to bring the men together. Keep in touch with the leaders until the group is secured and active. Keep the leaders "sweet" by putting responsibility on

them and magnifying them. More will be said on this subject in the chapter on conducting classes. My point now is that the leaders of clubs are the men through whom we must make our approach to the clubs and societies of the foreign-born.

5. Guard against Prejudice, Curiosity, and Sensationalism. The Americanization worker should throw away prejudice and idle curiosity. Few men live who are free from prejudice. It is in the blood. We must guard against it.

In no civilized country is race prejudice as strong as in America, and the reason for this is that in no other civilized country is there such a mixture of races. I visited the Hull Department of the New York Shipbuilding Company and found there men of forty-two different nationalities. In no other shipyard outside the United States is such a cosmopolitan group found. This is the case in every industrial center in America located north of the Ohio River. Our immigrants have come from every continent and from every clime. In no other country do extremes of civilization meet as in America. Beside the skilled Swede stands the White Russian from the banks of the Upper Dneiper; assisting an English skilled worker I have seen a Turk, who was as stolid and stupid as any immigrant who ever crossed the seas. The Englishman never had such a helper before he came to America; in England he was helped by a man whom he could direct; in America, within a year, he may have twenty men of twenty different tongues. He does not welcome this, and it is very natural

that he should look with disdain upon this variety of help.

About ten million foreign-born persons are found in the industries of America, most of whom talk a language the native worker does not understand. They live under conditions very different from those found among the native-born workers, and their customs and habits are very different from those of Americans. Because of their low standard of living the foreign-born workers can, if they will, cut down the wage and put up with working conditions against which English-speaking workers will protest. The dread of competing with this foreigner is a real factor in American industries. Hence the deep feeling of resentment found in the rank and file of American workers against the foreigner, which intensifies and perpetuates race prejudice in the land.

The Americanization director will guard against race prejudice. It is found everywhere and to keep clean of this deeply rooted feeling is difficult indeed. He will meet hundreds of men who curse the foreigners. Good men will say it is a waste of effort to try to do anything for them; they consider them as so many cattle, to be worked hard and left alone. This opinion is not as strong as it was a decade ago, and yet it takes courage either to oppose it or to attempt to correct it. The worker will have to lay his plans deep and well, and his first business is to see that his own heart is swept clean and kept clean of race prejudice.

Another equally important duty is to avoid idle curi-

osity and sensationalism in investigation. The quest for novelty is hard to suppress. When the director for the first time comes in close contact with the foreign-born and their ways, he is tempted to rush into print or expose on the platform the customs and habits which are novel to him. To do this would be folly. When a certain tyro sociologist in a town in New Jersey, in order to arouse the sympathy of contributors, reproduced domestic conditions and family practices which he discovered among the foreign-born, he precipitated a row which made short work of the exhibit.

The Americanization worker will do his best work when he looks sympathetically upon the foreign-born living under new conditions in a new world. Many of these men grew up in agricultural communities; they never saw industrial establishments until they came to America. They know not what it means to work in dirt and dust and finish the day as black as the commodity they handle. They do not know what injury may result to their system by the handling of certain commodities, or the inhaling of certain gases. They will learn this at a high cost. Then, too, living in one room in an agricultural community is very different from living in one room in a tenement district. Their old habits cling to them; they do not feel well, and they forget their discomfort in dissipation. All this the sympathetic worker will see; he can be of great service to the men by suggesting methods of relief, but he must do this in a sympathetic way. Let no one think that the foreign-born does not read the thought and dis-

cern the motives of the Americanization worker. If he is sympathetic and sincere, he will make friends every day; if he is curious and hopes to see visions, he will soon be looking for a new field.

The standard of living in America is higher than in any other part of the world. Many foreign-born men from southeastern Europe come from the poorest sections of Europe. If they are frugal and penurious, they are so by habit, and the habit was contracted under dire necessity. Let the director sympathize with men who save and lead the simple life. The variety of standards in eating, housing, and dressing in America among the English-speaking is very great. So it is among all nations; but take the record of immigrants coming to the United States, and few indeed are rejected for malnutrition.

The point I wish to emphasize here is that the worker, who will find in his work standards of living among the immigrants far removed from those obtaining among the Americans, must not conclude that the men who practice these are barbaric and need civilizing. A white tablecloth, china dishes, silverware, separate dishes for a variety of articles are desirable; but I have eaten as good a meal as was ever cooked, which was well balanced from the viewpoint of the need of the human body, at a table without linen, served in earthenware vessels, eaten with steel knives and forks. Let us stand for a high standard of living, but it will be a mistake to think for a moment that this is to be attained by expensive tableware, costly linen, and gastronomic productions that tempt the palate and

ruin digestion. For the workers of America a standard must be advocated that is reasonable, simple, wholesome, and within reach of unskilled or semi-skilled wage-earners; and when this is done, the simple life of the foreign-born will not be a thing to be laughed at or published abroad as a specimen of barbaric custom. The worker will bear this in mind — forego idle curiosity, and sympathize with the man who has to raise a large family on less than a thousand[1] dollars a year.

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[1] The minimum annual income for a family of five is put to-day at fifteen hundred dollars.

CHAPTER IV

THE AMERICANIZATION PROGRAM

WHAT are the essentials of Americanization? Many are the programs published, many are the demands made on the foreign-born, many are the varieties of opinions on the subject. Thousands of aliens have been naturalized by professional politicians who needed their votes, thousands have become citizens to please their friends, many take out their naturalization papers for protection of one sort or another, some find the door of citizenship the entrance to an easy livelihood, while some use naturalization as a tool to strike the land that gave them birth. Not until within the last few years has there been a conscious effort by state and federal agencies to prepare the foreign-born for the duties and obligations of citizenship.

We are not yet out of the woods in this task of preparing aliens to take their places in the family. Leaders differ so widely in their ideas that the men and women who are disposed to help the foreign-born are confused as to what they ought to do in classroom or hall. Some have so broad a program that though they are busy day in and day out, they get nowhere; others are so narrow that they forget the varied interests and relations of the foreign-

born. If one group of leaders had their way, the alien would do little else during the five years of probation than attend school, lectures, demonstrations, readings, etc., in order to come to the stature of the true American; others believe that sending the alien a printed folder containing questions the judge is likely to ask, together with answers stated in the fewest possible words, is all that is needed. The right course lies somewhere between these two extremes. The teacher must take into consideration the character of the pupils he teaches, the time at their disposal, and the standard set by the Bureau of Naturalization and the local court.

Ideal citizenship has not yet been realized by any state. How many of the rank and file of industrial workers of native-born parents in America are qualified to exercise intelligently the rights of citizenship? In the home they play their part well, obey the laws of the state, and discharge their duty in an economic sense, but their knowledge of the form of American government is not large; they take little interest in the town in which they live; they go to the polls because the men interested in getting out the vote call on them and it is respectable to vote a certain way. When a small group of Canadians in New York City studied the form of American government, the members of the group had lots of fun putting questions to their native-born fellow workers which they could not answer. Many standards imposed by twentieth-century civilization cannot be said to be American any more than they are Canadian or Australian. America,

however, expects every alien in the United States to put himself in line with American democracy, which differs from other types of democratic rule in the world, and this demand cannot be met by externalities, no matter how well they may conform with twentieth-century standards.

American democracy is not to be measured by the way a house is furnished, the kind of table the family sets, the quality of the clothes worn by parents and children, or the way they talk. If these standards were applied to the mountaineers of West Virginia, Virginia, and Kentucky, there is cause to fear that their democracy would not stand very high. It is, however, a well-known fact that these mountaineers stood in the van of fighting men in the days of the World War, and gave as good an account of themselves as any company of soldiers from the north or west. The workers of America as well as those of Canada and Australia raise their voices against the low standard of living practiced by immigrants from backward countries. This is justifiable, for in it are involved questions bearing directly upon the present and future of American wage-earners. But the point I wish to emphasize is that externalities, though desirable, are not an essential part of the program of Americanism.

The essentials of Americanization fall under five heads, which we shall discuss in this chapter.

1. Teaching English. The alien who does not know the English language will never understand America. Of course, many men who know the language in every

particular are as far from the spirit of America as imperialism is from democracy, but speaking generally of the immigrants coming from foreign-speaking countries to America, we affirm that they will never understand the spirit of this country unless they understand the language of the court and the press, the pulpit and the forum. They may learn much about American history, they may be versed in the form of American government, but they will never understand Americans unless they can converse in English, read the American newspaper and magazine, and freely mingle in American society. The spirit of America is in the atmosphere where her sons work, where they play, where they discuss the questions of the hour, where they settle the differences that arise in the social, industrial, and political arena, and the man who remains outside this atmosphere because of the barrier of language will remain a stranger in a strange land.

When we emphasize the importance of learning English, it does not mean that the foreign-speaking in America should forget their mother tongue, it does not mean that they cannot read books in their native language, but it does mean that it is to their interest to speak, read, and write English, and that this is essential before they can understand America and enter into the life of the country.

We do not propose in this connection to discuss this question from its varied sides. We may state, however, that it is important for the aliens of foreign speech to learn English in order to increase their earnings and to be able to travel freely from place to place in America. It is

equally important in order that they may gain the economic advantages in trade and commerce. But our prime object just now is to emphasize the fact that an alien will never understand America if he does not understand the language in which the country makes its laws, carries on its business, and publishes its news. I have known thousands of workers in America, who do not know English, who earn good wages and who do good work; possibly they could not do that job better or get higher wages if they knew our tongue; there are in the country thousands of foreign-born men who lead model lives as husbands and fathers who do not speak our language; these would not be better husbands or more provident fathers if they spoke English fluently; but if they expect to become intelligent American citizens and take part in the social and political life of America, they must come out of their exclusiveness and be able to talk, read, and write the language of the country.

When I met a foreign-born man who had lived in America for twenty-five years who could not speak the language of the country, I felt instinctively that I spoke to a man who did not think much of the United States. Any one coming to America as a young man, living here for a quarter of a century, and making no effort to learn the language of the country, need not proclaim from the housetop his contempt for the country and its institutions. Such a man has no love for America and her government. There may be, in some instances, extenuating circumstances. A man living in a construction

camp or on an isolated farm, or in a secluded mining town may have no opportunity to learn English; but even under these conditions, if the foreign-born gave due thought to his relation to the country which gives him protection, economic opportunity, a civilized society, and freedom, he would make an honest effort to learn the language of the country.

Many foreign-born men, in press and on platform, have blamed the United States for their ignorance of the English language, of the history of America, and of the American plan of government. Many Russians now in Russia have made this charge. They say: "When we were in America, no one took interest enough in us to teach us English; to tell us the story of America; or instruct us in the form of the American government." This may or may not be true. No national plan has been formed and successfully carried out to teach foreign-born men the English language, American history, and the workings of American democracy. Much has been done in a sporadic way by men and women interested in the foreign-born. The efforts were largely individualistic, lacking standardization, momentum, coördination, or financial backing.

The war changed all this. Several organizations arose overnight in war days, issued a nation-wide program, with the motto: "Americanize all aliens." Men and women by hundreds went to and fro over this land shouting that the foreign-born were a menace, that measures should be taken to Americanize them, by moral suasion if possible,

by compulsion if necessary. Unable to get the prompt result they wished, the missionaries brought pressure to bear on the industries employing the foreign-born, to do something for Americanization. In some states laws were proposed to compel not only minors of foreign birth, but also adults ignorant of the English language, to attend evening schools. I do not pretend to pass on the merit of these measures, but one thing I do know, that no economic pressure and no legislative enactment will be effective unless the native-born of native parentage will show a disposition to welcome the foreign-born to the family by kindly sympathy and just treatment.

If the work of teaching English is properly promoted by men and women who know the foreign-born and sympathize with them, there need not be a foreign-speaking man or woman in the United States who will not be asked by some one in the spirit of genuine helpfulness: "Why don't you learn English?" If this is done, and a practical method used by which the foreign-speaking can learn the English language, few indeed are the men under fifty years of age who will not avail themselves of the opportunity to learn.

If, however, there are any who will not learn the language of the country, who are so indifferent to American history and institutions as to ignore them, then the United States is not the best place for them. Greater homogeneity is desired among the peoples of America, and this will never be attained until we have one medium of communication. When all native-born men and women

believe this and work for it, the pressure of public opinion will bring it to pass, and legislative enactment either in Washington or in the several states will not be necessary.

2. **Naturalization.** It is the duty of every immigrant in the United States, who has made up his mind to make this country his home, to take out his naturalization papers. He should have ample time to decide this question — time to see the nature of the country, to determine whether or not he can make a living in it, to study its political and social life, and to learn what America can offer him and his children. Should he determine to cast his lot with us, then every opportunity should be offered him to secure the rights of citizenship; if, at the close of the period of probation, he decides not to take out his naturalization papers, then he should return to the land of which he is a citizen.

As regards naturalization, there are three classes of aliens: first, those who are anxious to become American citizens and welcome help to secure their papers, — these form the vast majority; second, those who are indifferent, who have not given the matter due thought and are undecided, — these form a large group and can be helped to settle the question one way or another according to the conviction of the man who addresses them; third, those who are resolved not to become citizens of the United States because they are so enamored of the government of their native land that they cannot think of changing their allegiance, — these form a small per-

centage and are generally so set in their opinion that it is useless to attempt to change it.

Can you make an American out of a Slav or an Italian? is a question often asked. Yes, it can be done. A prominent Slav once said: "You'll never make anything of me but a Serb. I am that by nationality and will always feel like a Serb." True, it would be absurd to assume that he could be transformed into an American in the sense in which he spoke as a Serb. The place of one's birth is settled once for all. One's blood is fixed by nature, the national heritage and racial bent cannot be changed, the traditions and institutions that shape one's life in the plastic period of youth are not of one's choosing — all this is beyond control. When we speak of Americanization, it is silly to imagine that we can change the physique or the racial characteristics of men, be they physical or mental or spiritual. And yet we believe that a Serb or an Italian, a Finn or a Greek, can become an American.

The best analogy is that of one who is a son and a husband. Sonship is fixed; one cannot have more than one mother any more than a man can have more than one birthplace. When, however, the son marries, he enters into new relations which may be said to cut into the filial obligations which up to that hour dominated his life. This is expressed in sacred writ as "leaving father and mother and cleaving to his wife." The contract he makes in this new relationship is binding, and in the event of conflict of interests, he knows that his first allegiance is to his wife.

That is exactly what we mean by the new allegiance to one's adopted country when an alien becomes an American. A man cannot forget the land of his birth or blot out of memory the love for the fields and the brooks, the trees and the birds, the songs and the poetry, the heroes and the epochs of his native land. When, however, the alien gives up the allegiance he owes to the sovereign power of the land of his birth and takes the oath of allegiance to these United States, he should forsake the one and cleave to the other. The man who has sworn allegiance to the United States, when divided between the love of the old and the new, because of conflicting interests, should not for a moment doubt where his duty lies. The country of his adoption should have the first claim upon his love, his resources, and his life. This should be the meaning of naturalization to every alien who comes into the American family.

The late war showed clearly that this is not the way naturalization in the United States was regarded by thousands of men whose intellectual grasp was of the first order. The naturalized citizens who violated the neutrality of the United States and later, when America entered the war, were pro-entente in their sympathies, were not ignorant of what they were doing. They knew perfectly well what course they were pursuing, what their acts meant in point of law, and what awaited them if arrested and tried; but in the face of this, they deliberately attempted treason against the country of their adoption. During the World War, eminent men in allied countries

affirmed that persons from enemy countries had, some years before, secured citizenship in their country for the sole purpose of carrying on propaganda in favor of their native land, and in order to keep their government informed as to national sentiment, economic status, and defense in the country where they resided.

There is reason to believe that many aliens have been made citizens of the United States in such a flimsy way that they never realized the meaning of the oath they took and never thought of its consequences in case difficulties arose between America and the country of their birth. One reason for this is that many men, interested in securing votes, put party interest above patriotism. Their one purpose in securing naturalization papers for aliens was to lead them to the polls as sheep are led to the shambles. Since 1906, a conscious effort has been made, by men knowing the abuses practiced, to raise the standard and lend greater dignity to the process of giving aliens a part in the sovereign power of the nation.

In many instances, the effort has succeeded. In most cases, however, it has resulted in making it more difficult for the alien to secure naturalization, in opening to petty attorneys a new source of income, and in emphasizing knowledge to the exclusion of all other considerations. There is reason to believe also that in some instances the standard of citizenship is no higher to-day than in the days when aliens were made citizens by the wholesale. The practice is not so gross as when thousands of aliens were made voters overnight, but in cases where politics

control the courthouse, from the janitor to the judge, the effort at exaltation of standards and greater dignity of process is defeated by partisan zeal.

Under these conditions, exalted ideas as to responsibility, of duties to discharge, of ideals to be maintained, of sanctity of the election, and of the preservation of democratic institutions are lost to sight. Thousands of foreign-born citizens have the power of the ballot who have not given an hour's thought to the relation of their rights to the future of democracy. They have not imagination enough to comprehend such a relation, and not until the disinterested, public-spirited, and better educated part of the electorate take a larger interest in the naturalization of the foreign-born will the attempt at installing ceremonies which impress the mind of the alien with the dignity, worth, and meaning of the rights of citizenship conferred on him, be of value.

The excess tax imposed on all alien wage-earners by the law of 1918 drove thousands of foreign-born men to make their declaration of intention to become citizens of the United States. We have reason to believe that many of these people did this to evade the excess taxation. Most aliens did not understand the operation of the law, and many of the men who handled the matter did not sympathize enough with the foreign-born to explain it. Footloose young men among the foreign-born move frequently. This was especially the case during the war and there was no way of finding out what their annual income was. The tax collector guessed at it and simply

demanded so much money, which the alien had to pay. No one can tell the amount of misunderstanding, irritation, and exasperation, caused by this excess taxation on aliens, and it has been one of the greatest allies of the radicals, who cause so much trouble in the land. A greater effort should be made to explain the law, how similar laws were in operation in other countries, and to show that it was only fair for the aliens to bear part of the burden imposed upon the country because of war.

One of the objectives which the Americanization worker should have in mind is that no opportunity should pass without an effort being made to show the inseparable relation between the health of the city, the kind of education offered in its schools, the character of public officials, and the conscientious use of the ballot. The sale of a vote means the loss of all that is worth living for in civilized life. The ceremony in the court, culminating in the process of naturalization, should be most impressive. The most sacred usages in the lives of most foreign-born peoples are those of the church. The oath taken at the altar is sacred, and the sanctity of this oath depends largely upon its antiquity and the drapery thrown around it. In the Old World, government in the alien's mind is a sacred institution; around it is an air of exalted dignity and authority and it commands respect. In America this reverence for antiquity and custom is lacking. The church finds it difficult to maintain that reverence and sanctity pertaining to sacred rites which were wont to be observed in the Old World. The church

does this, however, far more successfully than do democratic institutions.

When an official of high standing passes around the cigars, chews the "cud," wears soiled garments, often greasy and threadbare, frequents low places and violates the prohibition law — such conduct is fatal to deference to public officials, dignity of court procedure, reverence for political authority, and regard for democratic institutions. All this has a bearing upon loyalty and patriotism, and not until our public officials, our court proceedings, and the ceremony of naturalization are surrounded with greater solemnity and dignity, will the rank and file of foreign-born men seeking naturalization have a due appreciation of the rights of citizenship conferred upon them. If the foreign-born do not comprehend the meaning of the oath they take, the fault is more ours than theirs.

3. Lectures and Entertainments. Lectures are designed to give information to the foreign-born concerning the institutions of the country, the form of our government, and the aim of this Republic; entertainments are means by which the foreign-born may find self-expression and conserve what is best in the culture of his race.

The lectures should attempt three things:

(*a*) To educate the foreign-born in the necessity of physical readjustment and adaptation in a new country. Work in America is very different from work in Europe. The pace is different, the tools are different, the con-

ditions of work are different, the management is different, and the ways of life are different. The majority of those emigrating from southeastern Europe come from agricultural communities; life and work on the farm in Rumania or in Galicia have nothing in common with life and work in a coal mine, in a steel plant, or in a factory. Thousands of immigrants lose their health because they believe that they can live exactly as they were wont to do in the Old World while working in the industries of America. They break down and will continue to break down unless they eat more, wash oftener, dissipate less, and sleep in more sanitary quarters. This knowledge can be given by lectures, well illustrated by slides or motion pictures. The wonder is that alien men are able to stand what they do when we consider the food they eat, the work they perform, and the conditions under which they live.

Six Russians, living in a cellar which during the rainy season was flooded, had to walk to their dirty beds on planks. They prepared their own food, which was comprised largely of canned goods, and the inevitable void that nature felt was supplied with drink. They worked in the yard of a steel plant, handling pig iron. They were stolid and faithful and earned good wages, but under these conditions it was only a question of time when the strongest would break down. In the discussion of turnover among foreigners, this point of maladjustment between living conditions and work done is not given the attention it should have.

(*b*) To give the foreign-born a clear understanding of certain laws of the country, the ordinances of the city, and the customs and habits common in the United States. Higher civilization means a multiplicity of laws and ordinances bearing upon the daily life of men in thickly settled communities. These are wholly foreign to aliens from backward countries. A family from the province of Grodno, settling in the city of New York or Chicago, will be face to face with municipal ordinances never dreamt of in an European agricultural community. Take the laws regarding fire and fire escapes; or regarding offal and garbage; or regarding food selling and preservation; the foreigner knows nothing of them and cannot understand why they should be enforced. They are regulations having behind them hundreds of years of civilization, they were put on the statute books of municipalities after long experiences accompanied by loss of life, or property, and untold suffering. But the simple-minded immigrant from an agricultural community in mid-Russia does not know this and will not understand it. He must first of all pass through a process of thinking that takes time; he must be given the facts in a language which he can understand; he must be shown how the carelessness of one may mean the suffering and death of many. When these facts are brought to his attention, he will see the reason for city ordinances, and why they should be enforced.

The same is true of most state laws which regulate life. Such statutes as that of Pennsylvania that a

foreign-born alien cannot keep a dog, or that of Michigan that an alien cannot be employed in a barber shop or open up a shop of his own, or that aliens in some states are practically prohibited from holding land, are not commonly known to the native-born, much less to the foreign-born. Labor laws bear specially upon the interests of the foreign-born wage-earner, so do the regulations regarding wages, child labor, night work, etc.; but it is safe to say that no effort is made to give the necessary information to immigrants save through the courthouse and the police officer. The same is true of the laws pertaining to compulsory school attendance, the necessity of securing working papers, the regulations about contagious diseases, and the group of laws regulating Sabbath observances, the sale of cigarettes, and the carrying of concealed weapons. These are not known to the immigrant.

(*c*) To give the foreign-born a clear understanding of the form of American government, the leading events in American history, the men and women who made sacrifices in laying the foundations of this Republic, the great objective of American democratic ideals.

The American spirit is the product of the Constitution, the historic development of the country, the activity of legislative bodies and of the courts, the deeds and words of Americans who have stood on the watch towers of American democracy, and the conscience of the nation, which is not reflected by any one man or group of men, but which is a positive influence in shaping the lives of all in this Republic. The foreign-born will not come to under-

stand the American spirit if he does not get acquainted with the forces that have produced it, as far as these can be brought within the range of his comprehension. For this purpose, a carefully prepared series of lectures should be available, having this educational propaganda especially in view.

Every American believes that this is "God's country"; that it is the greatest country under the sun; and that no country has a more promising future. But this is not the opinion of the foreign-born, and it will not be his opinion until a conscious effort is made to show him what America has to offer in the matter of self-government, in the solution of the question of democracy, in the application of the principles of democracy to the life of a nation, and in the type of men and women produced by democratic institutions. We believe that this can be done. The story of the foundation and the development, the institutions and their applications, the trials and the triumphs of these United States is full of interest to foreign-born as well as to those born under the "Stars and Stripes." Before the foreign-born can give full-hearted allegiance to America, before he can intelligently support its program, and before he can look with hope to the future, he must catch the spirit that runs through the hundred and forty years of America's life as a nation.

Entertainments are planned to give the foreign-born self-expression. When immigrants come to America they do not divest their minds and hearts of the good things they have learned in the land of their birth. They

can throw off their old garments, but they cannot throw off the garment of the soul, and it is neither good for them, nor for us, to throw away the many beautiful things they bring with them from the Old World. The story of their people, the memory of birds and fields and flowers, the songs they learned in childhood, the poetry of their race, the story of their heroes and the epochs of conflict and sacrifice and suffering, their folklore and folk dances, the consecrated musical instruments, their sweet melodies, their art, their science, their national festivals and days sacred to their saints — all these and much more they bring to America. No genuine American asks the foreign-born to forget these; most Americans wish to conserve what is noble and excellent in the culture of all immigrant peoples, and the entertainments for foreign-born peoples are planned with this in mind.

Americanization has been defined as the combination of what is best in the Old and the New World. The idea is a good one. The man who has a receptive mind is the best neighbor; the same is true of a nation. The Puritan concept of civilization made possible the United States, and much of what we enjoy to-day, much of what we consider worth while in American institutions, owes its origin to that source; but it would be foolish and narrow to imagine that the Puritan type of civilization is the *summum bonum* of life. We have drifted far away from the standards laid down by Cotton Mather, John Eliot, and Jonathan Edwards. This drift from Puritan standards is not wholly due to the spirit of the times;

some of it is due to the type of civilization of southeastern Europeans, which makes life richer and more tolerant. The gay, careless, and shallow life of semicivilized peoples is inconceivable in the United States, but it is equally true that the intense, rushing, driving, exciting life of America is not ideal. Men are hankering for and will find a way of life that strikes a *via media* between the cold, stern morality of Puritanism and the red and spicy laxity of Bohemianism.

4. Recreational Activities. This part of the program has to do with the children of the foreign-born. It is a well-known fact that the hard work of the nation in the North is done by the foreign-born, just as the chores in the Southland are performed by the negroes. This strenuous work makes it inadvisable to plan a program of recreational activity for adults among the foreign-born. It is also a fact that our national games will never be taken up by the men emigrating from Europe to America. Men in their twenties do not take up new games. Group activities may be planned, but these must be of the simplest kind. What will be more to the purpose is that the Americanization worker should find out what games the foreign-born have learned and can play, and introduce these in the play life of the people. Adult foreigners, however, bent on making a living, will not take much interest in American games, but their sons will and it is they who need direction.

In every community where the foreign-born are found, the boys need two things — direction that they may

rightly understand America, and leadership that they may justly appreciate the rights of parents to obedience and reverence.

Thousands of parents cannot understand why their children do not behave in America as they did in the Old World; when the child falls into the clutches of the law, the parents pay the fine, but do not understand. When a probation officer visits the home, he is not welcomed; when the officer searches for a juvenile criminal, the parents say America is not a good place to raise a family, no matter what its economic advantages may be. The boys of foreign-born parents are just boys, and all they need is leadership by men who are sympathetic with the boys and their parents, and who see clearly the relation of this work to Americanization. It has often been said that the parents can best be reached through the child; this is undoubtedly true of the foreigners as well as of the native-born, and the work suggested in this connection is the way to save the parents by saving the boys. If the hearts of the boys are turned to the parents, the gulf separating parents and children will be bridged, and many hearts spared the aches which to-day trouble the homes of foreign-born parents.

5. Advisory Councils. This means the organization of a few men who are willing to give free advice to the foreign-born who gets into trouble and who does not know how to extricate himself. It is a well-known fact that the majority of cases in courts in districts in which foreign-born people form from twenty to thirty per

cent of the population are those connected with the immigrant population. Many shyster lawyers prey upon this part of the community and are ever stirring up strife or fanning a petty feud into a lawsuit. In addition to difficulties which result in litigation, there is much defrauding. Impositions are practiced which could not be practiced on the English-speaking peoples. The foreign-born does not know what to do, but the spider can afford to wait for the blood of his victim. What the immigrant needs is an advisor — one who will tell him what his rights are and how he can meet the cunning of the fellow who will sit up night after night laying nets to catch the unwary.

As to the civil duties involved — some foreigners are in difficulties about their naturalization papers; others have purchased a piece of property and the seller has not dealt squarely with them; some want a young bride from the old country, and they do not know how to proceed to get her; others have friends who have come from the Old World and who cannot land, and they know not what to do. All kinds of difficulties arise, and what the foreign-born need above all else is a friend who will advise them in time of need.

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CHAPTER V

TEACHING ENGLISH

ALL men of foreign speech living and working in the United States should make an effort to learn the language of the country. Many captains of industries will not employ men who cannot speak the English language, while others insist upon their employees learning it or quitting their jobs.

To be compelled to learn a language is un-American. Many foreign-speaking peoples were compelled to learn a language other than their mother's tongue. They did not like it and called it Prussianism. Thousands of adult foreigners in America learn English of their free will; if compulsion is used, they will resent the effort and look upon America as they did upon some European governments. It is advisable to compel foreign-speaking minors to learn our language, but a law to compel adults can never be enforced.

Compulsion is not necessary. Between eighty and ninety per cent of foreign-speaking persons will join a class in English, providing they are approached by some one having genuine sympathy for and confidence in the foreigner. The other ten per cent will have valid reasons for not learning and their wishes should be respected.

When an effort is made in an industry or in the community to enlist the foreign-speaking in classes, certain fundamental principles should be observed. Attention should be given to the difficulties of the foreigners, the organization of classes, the material of the lessons, and the teachers.

1. The Foreigner's Difficulties. The Americanization teacher should, as far as possible, understand the difficulties under which the foreign-born try to learn the English language. One of the greatest hindrances is the prejudice against the foreigner. Men generally speak of the immigrants as unclean, poverty-stricken, ignorant, and superstitious. The men, women, and children of foreign birth feel this and resent it. Opprobrious epithets are hurled at them; they are ostracized; the community in which they live is generally a section forsaken by the Americans and neglected by the municipality. The foreigners must live in these undesirable sections of our cities, and because of the dirt and the congestion, the self-respecting American looks with disdain upon them. The teacher should guard against this sentiment and make the foreign-speaking pupils feel that, notwithstanding the prejudice they encounter, they can become good American citizens.

The opinion is also too prevalent that the foreigners are diseased, criminal, and vicious. There is no basis in fact for this indictment, and most people who so charge the foreign-born care little for facts. I have met some persons of foreign birth who were so hurt by this suspi-

cion that they would neither learn our language nor associate with Americans. As far as statistics go, the foreign-born adult is less criminal than the native-born, and the money he saves rapidly remedies his impoverished condition. The foreigner knows he is despised and rejected by Americans, and when he comes to school he is liable to be alert for signs of this contempt. It is the privilege of the teacher to dispel this suspicion and prove that true Americanism does not take the accidental and temporary as the criterion of human value.

The men and women who come to school are wage-earners. They work hard and come to school tired. If they are sluggish and slow to respond, let the teacher remember that the pace in American industries is taxing on the nerves and muscles of workers. Hard work seriously interferes with the process of Americanization; men and women who work from ten to twelve hours a day cannot be expected to attend English classes regularly for three or four evenings a week.

Many foreigners come to school in unique garments — women come with shawls or kerchiefs over their heads, and their garments are not of American make; men come in their sheepskin coats, flannel shirts, boots and caps; some come with hair disheveled, dirty linen, faces and hands unwashed; these are unpleasant things, and yet for the great work of Americanization, the teacher will not be prejudiced against the pupils. We are all creatures of environment, and it takes time to pass out of the old into the new. Nothing, however, is more

gratifying to the teacher than to observe the gradual change in dress and personal appearance under his leadership. I have seen a group of Russians and of Mexicans so transformed in three months that one would not recognize them as the same people, if one had not been a witness of the transformation.

A large percentage of some nationalities are illiterate. When classes are organized for these people, the illiterates lag behind the literates. This discourages the laggards and it will task the ingenuity of the teacher to keep up the interest of these men. This has been done in two ways: first, by the aid of volunteer assistants — men or women interested in the foreign-born who are willing to sit down with the illiterate and give him special help in reading and writing; second, by putting the backward pupil under the care of one of the brightest, who gives him help in reading and writing. The mentality of the laggard has much to do with the result. I recall a group of Turks who were illiterate and incapable; the class was conducted in a factory, and the management decided that it was hopeless work. The Turks were dismissed and the effort made with more promising subjects.

The foreigners have considerable trouble with the sounding of certain letters in English; this is especially the case with the letters *th, v, w, ng, wh, c, r,* as well as the sound of some vowels. These difficulties can be overcome only by the teacher's careful enunciation, by special drill in the placing of vocal organs, and by cheer-

fulness and perseverance. In this work judgment and common sense must be exercised. Pupils who have great difficulty in correct enunciation should not be worried; if they do not succeed in one lesson, let the matter rest and take it up again in the next. Always be cheerful, encourage the pupil, and your efforts will be crowned with success.

The art of correct spelling in English is most difficult to the foreign-born. This is largely due to the fact that they nearly all spell phonetically in their own tongue, but in English the same principle will not apply. Spelling English words has to do with the eye, and it is only as the correct form of the word is so retained by this organ that the wrong form will be detected, that the pupil will acquire the art of spelling. The teacher will know rules to aid in this work, such as those for the plural of nouns, the formation of the comparison of adjectives, the formation of adverbs, the regular formation of the past tense of verbs, the prefixes and affixes of words. Other devices may be resorted to, such as grouping words in families, separating the words, calling attention to the effect of silent vowels on the preceding vowel, using colored chalk for emphasis, etc. All these are only aids, however, and the foreigner who learns to spell correctly in English must keep a dictionary near him and never pass a word when in doubt as to the correct spelling. Constant watchfulness and long practice is the price to be paid for the mastery of correct spelling in English.

2. Organizing Classes. The fifteen million foreign-born people in the United States represent more than fifty nationalities. They differ much in appearance, in previous culture, in mental capacity, in temperament, and in the proximity of their mother tongue to English or its remoteness from it. A Swede learns English readily; a Chinese has untold difficulties; the majority of Portuguese are illiterate; all Finns can read and write; the Italian is mercurial, the Lithuanian phlegmatic; the Syrian is mentally alert; the White Russian is stolid. These differences in the language, mentality, and temperament must be studied before successful schools can be organized.

In organizing classes, the teacher must take account of race psychology. Every immigrant belongs to some race, and he bears its peculiar stamp, both in mind and in body. Race heritage cannot be cast away at will. Americanization work has made little progress among some peoples in the United States, because we have forgotten to take account of these formative forces in their mental make-up, and arrange our program accordingly.

Men who have accumulated an intellectual possession under social systems and political institutions wholly different from those in the United States cannot be put in the same class. When I was on the Pacific coast, I witnessed an effort to organize a class made up of Japanese and Russians. It was not possible, and the teacher never would have courted failure if he had considered the racial heritage of each. It would be an

advantage from an educational point of view if all immigrants could throw off mental peculiarities just as they lay aside the peculiar costumes of their country. We deal, however, with mature minds, which are as furnished rooms, and the occupant often fails to realize why he cannot with propriety join a class made up of men wholly different in mental equipment, tastes, and customs.

I believe that men and women should be organized into different classes; the male and the female are different creations; their life work is different; their interests in life are different. The foreign-born males are employed in the mines, in mills, in factories, in metal works, in rubber works, in chemical plants. If the men are to be helped in their work, they must be taught lessons bearing directly on the work they do. The foreign-speaking female is interested in the home, in domestic service, in textile trades, in needle trades; a few are found in machine shops, yards, etc., but they are exceptions. In order to help the foreign-speaking woman, the lessons must deal with subjects within the range of her experience; if this is done, the men will not be interested, and *vice versa.*

Classes also should be small; not more than fifteen if the teacher can help it. If the number rises to twenty, better work can be done if the class is divided according to grade. The prime reason for small classes is the need of giving the men individual attention. The difference between man and man in the class is at best so great

that each must receive personal attention, if good work is to be done. In an industry employing ten thousand men, it is not unusual to find every country in Europe, as well as many countries in South America, Asia, and the islands of the sea, represented among the employees. These men differ greatly in capacity and previous training, and when organized into classes, both teacher and pupils will do their best work when they come together in small groups, carefully classified and graded.

Attention should be given to the physical condition of the men attending evening classes. A tired body means a slow mind. The harder kinds of physical work unfit men for mental work. Railroad workers go to sleep over their lessons. Foreigners who meet in rooms that are either too cold or too hot are torpid because of atmospheric conditions. The teacher can do much in making the pupils physically comfortable in the classroom, but he is helpless as regards the drain on their energy in the industries. If foreigners attending school work so hard during the day that all their strength is consumed, they will be poor students — providing we are able to induce them to join a class at all.

The classroom should also be adorned with pictures and maps that will impress the pupils with the spirit of America. A good map is necessary, and on the walls should be the pictures of men and women famous in the founding and making of this Republic. The school should be more than simply a place where English is taught—it should be a dynamic force driving every foreign-

born person frequenting it with irresistible power into the alluring paths of American democracy.

3. The Material to Be Taught. There are many books on the market to teach the foreigner the English language. All of them have merit, none of them is perfect. There are, however, certain principles to follow, no matter what system or book the teacher uses.

The closer the material of the lesson is tied to the interest of the pupil, the better the result. In the city of Detroit, two thousand children, ignorant of the English language, enter the public schools each year. To teach these children our language so that they may enter the grammar grades cannot be done by books, but by play. Put a Polish child of four years among a group of American children, and he has no difficulty in learning the English language. The adult man and woman have their interests in life, and when the lessons bear directly on these interests, the pupils are alert and eager to learn.

The prime need of every foreign-speaking man is ability to converse in simple, everyday English, about the common affairs of life. Hence, lessons to help this man and woman to understand the simple sounds of our tongue and to make these sounds, are of first importance. The needs of the foreigners are just the same as our own — they want food, shelter, clothing, work, social intercourse, and an understanding of their new environment. Around the foreign-speaking person is a world which is closed to him because of the barrier of language; our

work is to help him to enter this larger world. He can do so only as he masters the language of the street and the mart, of the press and the home, of the mine and the mill. Hence, in the classroom, the emphasis for the first three months of English instruction should be on training the ear and the vocal organs, so that the foreigner may converse in simple, everyday English. Reading and writing should not be neglected, but during this period they should take the secondary place.

The teacher should know thoroughly and well one scientific method of teaching language. Let him choose any master he pleases — Gouin, Berlitz, Ollendorf, Robertson, Rosenthal — but let him understand his principles, know how to apply them, and be able to teach in a masterful manner. It is well for the teacher to be conversant with all methods of language teaching, but he should master that which appeals to him and use it in his work. Master one method, be a slave to none. Never lean so hard upon a guide that you lose the use of your own feet and hands. Let the Master Mind be to you what the engines in the steamer are to the captain — they drive the ship, but the captain has his hand on the helm to direct the vessel. Keep the gateways of your mental apparatus open, and when you digress, do so with discretion.

There are certain things men and women wish to do. One of the first things a wise mother teaches her child is the address of the home, and I have not found a child anywhere who did not jump with joy when he first wrote

his name. The foreigner wants to write his name in English, and if he is taught to write correctly the address of the house in which he lives, he feels happy. A Russian in the General Electric plant in Schenectady learned to write his name in English, and so proud was he of his accomplishment that the following day he wrote it in every place he could in the shop in which he worked. In the Standard Oil plant in Bayonne, scores of foreigners had never seen their names spelled correctly until a sympathetic teacher took pains to do so, and earned the gratitude of the men he taught. Many industrial concerns wish the men to sign the pay envelope receipt, and when the men can write their signature, it gratifies both men and company.

The teacher should study the social and industrial forces acting on the lives of his pupils. The work they perform, their quest for the necessities and comforts of life, the society they frequent, and the church in which they worship, affect their lives as well as that of the whole community. These forces, shaping the lives of men, must be studied. We all want to be understood and the only way the instructors of foreigners may hope to understand their pupils is by studying the various factors contributing to their lives. The school and the industries should be brought closer together; the teacher and the employer should coöperate. When the United States Steel Corporation brought a man familiar with the processes in the plant and a pedagogue together in order to prepare lessons for its foreigners, it followed

the path which must be trod by all who expect to give immigrants successful instruction in practical English.

For pupils who have acquired a knowledge of English equal to that of the child in the sixth grammar grade, a book containing lessons on government, customs and habits in America, epochs in American history, etc., should be used. Every pupil in school who is learning our language should have his face set toward naturalization, and the more he can learn about the country, the plan of American government, the institutions of the country, and the ways of the American people, the better for him and for us. The shaping of men's and women's minds to the task of playing their part conscientiously and well in this Republic is a task that challenges the best that is in the Americanization worker.

4. The Teacher. The high calling of teaching foreigners the English language should appeal to the best in the men and women forming the army of patriotic educators in America. It is the first step in molding the thought of thousands of aliens whose hearts are kindly disposed toward our country; and who in turn transmit their impressions and ideas to their children. These two groups — the immigrants and their descendants — make up more than one third of the white population of the nation, and the man and woman guiding and directing these "Americans in the Making" have an opportunity to influence not only the men learning English in the class, but also their descendants unto the third and fourth generation. It has been said that the America of to-day is largely the

product of the thirty-four million immigrants who have landed in the last hundred years; may we not add that the America of to-morrow will largely be determined by the work of assimilation now carried on by the teachers of the foreign-born and their children?

The first step in assimilating ninety per cent of those landed in America in the last quarter of a century must take place in the classroom. The other ten per cent know English, which is not always an advantage in the process of assimilation. Ninety out of every hundred must learn our language, which is very difficult. It is, however, a necessary achievement before they may understand America and enjoy its abounding life. To thousands of men, the gate is narrow. Those who know how hard it is for Slavs, Latins, and Turanians to acquire our tongue, feel that a method of teaching should be arranged which conserves the energy of both teacher and pupil. It is therefore advisable that the teacher should carefully choose a scientific and tested system before he begins to teach English. Some believe that they can depend on their own initiative. This the average instructor can do for a month or two, but he who can depend on it for a year or more is a genius. A method that taxes the ingenuity of the teacher continuously will not work, for it is too severe a drain upon his energy.

The gulf separating a refined, cultured, and sensitive teacher from some of the most ignorant, illiterate, and unpolished immigrants is often believed to be impassable. Many a kindly disposed school superintendent has failed

to bridge it. Ought this work to be intrusted to teachers who will have difficulty in descending to the level of the ignorant foreigner, or to persons of little or no culture, who are better able to help the illiterate aliens in their first lessons in English, and guide them in their initial efforts to conform to American habits and customs? The teaching of English to aliens demands the best qualified teachers, and the richer their minds in knowledge and culture, the better for the foreigner and the country. The quality of their work, however, will depend as much on warmth of heart as on intellect. The instructor who cannot sympathize with the illiterate foreigner, though he be a master in the art of teaching, would better be assigned to other work.

Teachers who know most are often not the best to instruct a class of foreigners. Even a man who is pedagogically untrained, who does not understand scientific principles as to the use of what he knows, is sometimes surprisingly successful in helping illiterate aliens. His success is due to his dominance over their feelings. Bonds of affection are forged between pupils and teacher which cannot be broken without disrupting the organization. The man knows not the art of teaching, but he is a master in winning the hearts of men.

The work of Americanization needs these two types — the trained educator and the untrained leader of men. In every community both kinds are found and should be enlisted. The teaching of foreigners should be in the hands of patriotic and trained teachers, who sympathize

with all aliens who want to learn English, but these cultured men will find their work strengthened when they call to their aid less cultured men who know how to win and hold foreign-born adults.

The Americanization worker should be willing to sacrifice something for these men. He should be willing to give more than he receives. He should be the true missionary of American democracy and represent all that is worth while in America. The work is not to be measured by the number of kilograms of energy he loses, but by the molding of men and women into good American citizens. Some of the best men I have seen in the work were not paid a cent. Rain or snow, frost or blizzard could not keep them away from their classes, and no more could the elements keep away the pupils; both pupils and teacher had risen above the level of commercial ties and moved in an atmosphere of mutual love and respect. We need the spirit of self-sacrifice in the work, and men and women who possess it — other things being equal — are the ones to be enlisted. The foreign-speaking person wants English, but he wants much more a friend, a counselor, a guide.

The pupils come to school voluntarily. This is to the advantage of the teacher. He deals with men who are conscious of a need, whose minds are active, who are anxious to drink in what he has to impart. Every one present is eager to receive direction and stimulation. The teacher is in the position of a gardener who plants flowers in fertile soil — if he does his work well, the plants

will grow and blossom. Earnest men are not discouraged by difficulties. They learn in spite of physical hindrances, unfavorable conditions, little or no equipment — they are resolved to learn, and they succeed. Is there a teacher anywhere, with pedagogical instinct, who will not be inspired by a group of adults, assembled in a hall, waiting for him to inoculate them with language and ideas that they may become fit candidates for citizenship in the United States? Men who are eager to drink will quench their thirst with gladness. Happy are the hours they spend in school, for each lesson enlarges their participation in the life of America.

The pupils should come to class twice a week, and if they insist on more evenings than that, never make it more than three. The evenings should be evenly divided in the week. If it is two nights a week, they should be Monday and Thursday, or Tuesday and Friday, or Wednesday and Saturday. If the men demand three nights, then they should be alternate evenings. The reason for this is that the pupils need time to digest their lessons. When they are taught four nights in succession, they get more than they can digest, and the result is congestion and confusion. There is no reason why the foreign-born could not assemble for instruction in Americanization on Sunday. This is the day on which they have most leisure, and it is the day on which the foreign-born single man dissipates. Give them a pleasant place to go to learn our language and become acquainted with the men who made America, and it will be a benediction to them and to us.

It is not necessary for the teacher to know the language of the group he teaches. Indeed, better progress will be made if the teacher knows nothing of the tongue of the men he teaches; let him depend wholly on the direct method. The reason for this is that men taught by the direct method will be under pressure to understand the teacher when he speaks, and they will do their best to make themselves understood. If the teacher in charge of a class can talk to the men in their mother tongue, the atmosphere of the class will not be English; the men will contract the habit of thinking in their mother tongue and translating into English, and the idioms of their own language will inevitably creep into the English they learn. In addition to this, the group of foreign-speaking men who secure the services of a native-born teacher will, as a rule, acquire better pronunciation and enunciation than they can from a man who has a foreign accent.

The wise teacher will prepare his lesson. Teachers may think that they know enough English without preparation to teach a group of foreigners. If the question of teaching were a matter of talking, their judgment would be right. But talk without a definite aim is not to be thought of in this connection. The conscientious teacher will appear before his class fully prepared to give the men very definite instruction. If he knows his lesson, he will teach in a clear and convincing manner, and the instruction will be tempered according to the capacity and needs of the pupils. If he digresses from the

mapped-out path, he will do so with judgment. Definiteness is the secret of success in teaching. Before each lesson the teacher should know exactly the goal he wants to reach; if he reaches it, he will have the satisfaction of work well done; if he does not, he should search and find out what is the cause of failure. Give time to the preparation of the lesson, and you will save time for yourself and your pupils in the classroom. The man who knows his work will never be confounded, no matter who visits the classroom; he has confidence which comes from mastery; he moves steadily to the goal and carries his class with him.

The Americanization teacher must exercise patience and never be weary of well doing. It goes without saying that the teacher must talk plainly, but no matter how plainly he talks the pupils will not master the words and sentences unless he repeats and repeats. How often does the mother repeat a word she wants the child to say. There is no arithmetic table for works of love. Of course, judgment must be exercised in this as in all else; the teacher cannot repeat and repeat until the dullest member of the class is perfect in pronunciation. He must find a path somewhere between the brightest pupil and the dullest, and, leaning on the side of sympathy with those who find the work most difficult, he will win and hold the brightest.

The teacher should be a gentleman or a lady at all times. The class will talk as the teacher talks and pronounce words as he does. They will not stop at this,

they will copy his dress, act as he does, and watch him when he least suspects it. He is the personification of America to them, and they will love America as they love him. They will be educated far more by his example than by precept. Many men who are illiterate have keen insight. They read the mind of the teacher, they feel the sincerity of his patriotism, they estimate his appreciation of American institutions; they come to know what his views are of American political life; they sense his valuation of great men, their achievements and their contribution to the nation; they discover what is the glow on the horizon of his outlook into the future of these United States, and they reflect his point of view in feeling, thought, and action. It is this which makes the teacher so potential a force in molding the minds of these coming citizens. He is the motor center on which depends, in a large degree, the direction taken by these souls as related to America. In his hands are the reins which guide and control men who long since saw in a vision the promised land and are now longing to enter it.

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CHAPTER VI

NATURALIZATION

MANY more immigrants have come to the United States in the last two decades than the total number of aliens made citizens in the same period. The rights of citizenship are conferred on the foreign-born by the United States. The average number admitted per year to citizenship in pre-war days was about 100,000; the average number of potential voters entering the country annually was more than five times that figure. During the five years from 1914 to 1919, the inflow of aliens fell off from normal about seventy-five per cent; the net increase to the population during this period is less than five hundred thousand — 431,884, or approximately 86,400 per annum. The tide is again rising. About 600,000 will arrive in 1920. If the present rate of increase continues, within a year we will reach pre-war numbers — more than a million a year.

One of the effects of the war was a stimulation of interest in the naturalization of aliens. As a result, in 1919 about a million men declared their intention to become citizens and nearly one fourth of that number were made citizens. Notwithstanding this commendable activity, the field of service for naturalization is still

immense. More than three and a half million male adults in the country are still unnaturalized. If we add to this number the wives of aliens — potential voters — the total would be between five and six millions.

There has appeared, in the last few years, commendable activity on the part of government officials in promoting the teaching and the preparation of coming Americans for citizenship. The government has been reluctant to make adequate appropriation to meet the increased work involved in the increased number of applicants; this, however, will be remedied, so that the congestion now obtaining in courts in first-class cities will be removed. In the present chapter, I will discuss government regulations for coming citizens, and the preparation of foreigners for citizenship.

1. Government Regulations. The laws governing the naturalization of aliens are made by the federal government; the conferring of the right of citizenship is in the hands of judges of courts of record. Naturalization is a privilege; it is a process of adoption of an alien as one of its own citizens by the national government of the United States. It is not a right the alien can demand; it is not a privilege to be secured without strict observance of prescribed regulations. The execution of the legal requirements is vested in the Bureau of Naturalization, which is a branch of the Federal Department of Labor. The process of naturalization of aliens is carried on in courts established in the several states. They must be courts of record, and may be county

or district courts and federal courts. The former number about 2300, the latter about 219.

Some judges say that an alien has no constitutional right in America. This is not correct. The alien may be looked upon as a guest, whose rights grow out of treaties, which are interpreted by the Federal Administrative Department. He has a right to the equal protection of the laws as to immunity from deprivation of life, liberty, and property without due process of law. The opportunity to become a citizen must be petitioned for by the alien, and before he can acquire it, he must possess certain personal qualifications and must conform to positive rules. Immigrants of Aryan and African stock, if they come up to the standard set by the government, may be naturalized; those of Asiatic blood — Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Hindus, etc. — cannot be naturalized. The law governing the entrance of all nations into America is the same, excepting the Chinese laborer, who is excluded by law.

When aliens apply for naturalization, the law is that all free white peoples and those of African blood may be naturalized. Hence, those groups from among the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Malays, Hindus, etc., who are allowed to come into the country cannot become citizens. The free white or colored (African) man, if he qualifies, may apply for adoption and be allowed to join the family. Of course, the children of Asiatics, Malays, and Hindus, born in America or its dependencies and living under the jurisdiction of the United States, whose parents

look upon America as their home, are citizens. If these, however, when of age, decline to live under the jurisdiction of the United States, then they take the citizenship of their parents. Thousands of young men, descendants of Asiatics, in the coast states and in the Philippine Islands, are to-day citizens of America. The same holds true of native-born sons of aliens of other nations. Of course, if the son of the foreign-born does not wish citizenship in the United States, he must leave the country and take up citizenship in the land whence his father came. In some instances, the government of the country from which the father came will not recognize the right of the son to become a subject of America; if a boy born of Italian parents visits the land of his fathers, he will be looked upon as an Italian subject.[1] This introduces the question of dual citizenship, which raises perplexing situations when those who regard themselves citizens of the United States go abroad.

The Constitution charges Congress to establish "a uniform rule of naturalization." This it has done and, as far as America is concerned, the naturalized alien is adopted by uniform procedure in every part of the land. The rights of naturalized citizens, however, are determined by international law. If the matter is covered

[1] Membership in a nation originally was wholly dependent on ties of blood or adoption. It had nothing to do with territorial limitations. The doctrine that place of birth determines nationality is, comparatively speaking, of recent date. It only came into existence in the middle of the seventeenth century, at the Peace of Westphalia, and has its origin in the religious freedom guaranteed certain German states.

by international treaty, the rights of adopted sons are clear; if it is not, then the United States must recognize the validity of the laws of other countries. Hence, we cannot complain if Turkey or Greece or Russia denies the right of its subjects to change their allegiance without the consent of the home government. Uniformity in the question of the rights of naturalized citizens can be obtained only when the governments of all civilized countries come together and agree as to the status of naturalized citizens as well as that of sons born to citizens residing abroad.

During the recent war many young men, sons of foreign-born, considered themselves American citizens, but found that if they went abroad to the land of their fathers, that government would not regard them as such. Even in the case of immigrants who have become citizens of the United States by naturalization, some European governments will not recognize the validity of the process unless the applicant secures the consent of the home government to the change. An alien from such a country who takes out his naturalization papers without the consent of the government in the fatherland is liable to arrest and imprisonment if he visits his former home. When Germany entered the late war, it had a treaty with the United States recognizing the right of a German-born alien to become a citizen of America; the Reichstag, however, abrogated the treaty and made every German of military age born in the United States subject to military service. When an American-born son

of a Frenchman, who had migrated to America and who had not taken out his naturalization papers, asked the government of the United States whether or not the French government would acknowledge him as an American subject if he went to France, the reply was that he had better not try it.

A United States citizen living in China, who has a son born in that Republic, will never think of his boy as a Chinese citizen; neither will the government of the United States think of him as a subject of China; the same is true if a son is born to an American citizen in South America; citizenship in these instances follows the tie of blood; but when a male child is born in America of parents who are aliens, the American way is to count the child a citizen of this country; in other words, we follow the rule that citizenship is determined by the place in which a child may be born, and not according to the blood of the parents.

An international treaty between two countries in many instances regulates the status of the naturalized. In the absence of such a treaty, the laws regulating the question of citizenship in the country where the child is born are followed. Among the leading nations of Christendom, citizenship generally follows the tie of blood, especially while the child is a minor; but should the child when he becomes of age express a preference for the country in which he was born, he may be considered a citizen of that country, especially if he has not resided in any other.

The question has often been asked, what is the status of the man who has taken out his first paper? He is not a citizen of the United States, and he has virtually renounced his allegiance to the government of his fatherland. Is he a man without a country? By an Act of Congress, passed March 2, 1907, the Secretary of State is authorized to issue a passport to aliens who have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States and who have resided in the country for three continuous years. This passport will give the declarent the protection of the American government in any foreign country in which he may go, save in the country of his birth and from which he migrated to America. The passport, however, will not be good for more than six months from the date issued.

If, after the foreign-born is fully naturalized, he resides for two successive years in the country from which he came, it will be presumed that he has ceased to be an American citizen. He can, however, present reasons to a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States why the presumption should not become a fact, which reasons will be presented to the Department of State and a decision will be rendered concerning the rules and regulations under which his American citizenship may be made valid. If the naturalized citizen lives in any other foreign country than the land from which he came to America, his citizenship will be presumed to cease after five years' absence from the United States, unless substantial and satisfactory evidence can be pre-

sented to a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States why it should be considered valid. It is also a law that no American citizen can expatriate himself when America is at war.

Whenever a man is naturalized, his wife and minor children also become citizens of the United States. If an Italian woman marries an American, she becomes a citizen of the United States; if, on the other hand, an American woman marries a Canadian, she becomes a Canadian citizen. Should a subject of a foreign government die, whose wife was a former subject of the United States, she is free to choose her citizenship. Foreign-born single women can apply for citizenship by following the lines laid down by the federal government. The wife of a foreign-born husband cannot apply for citizenship. If the husband applies for first papers and dies before the process of naturalization matures, the widow and her minor children may be naturalized without making a declaration of intention.

The nineteenth amendment to the Constitution giving women the right of the franchise is passed. Woman suffrage is now the law of the land. By it the wives of naturalized foreign-speaking men have the right to vote. Many of these women, if they tried to pass the naturalization examination given aliens in a court of record, would never pass, and the question is justly asked, ought they to be allowed to vote? In states where woman suffrage has been in vogue, some judges demand that the wives of aliens appear before them when the husband applies

for his final papers; if the wife does not qualify, citizenship is denied the husband, though he may be personally qualified to enter.

The government of the United States prescribes the process of naturalization. The immigrant can take out his first paper the day he lands in America, but before he can take out his second paper, he must have been a resident of the United States for five consecutive years. If an alien has been in the country five or more years and has neglected to take out his first paper, when he does this he must wait for two years before he can petition for his second paper. If after he has taken out his first paper he neglects to petition for his second within seven years of the date of issuing the first, he must again make a declaration of intention and wait two more years before he can apply for his second. If the alien has moved from state to state during the five years, he must reside for one year continuously in the state where he expects to get his second paper before he can make his petition, and he can establish the fact of his residence for the other years by the depositions of witnesses. The clerk of the court will furnish blank forms for the depositions necessary to establish the fact of his five years' continuous residence in the country.

When the alien petitions for his second paper, he must take with him his first paper and two witnesses, citizens of the United States, who have known him for more than one year as a resident of the state; if they can testify to knowing him for five continuous years, so much

the better. If the witnesses are naturalized citizens, they should take with them their naturalization papers, unless they are well known in the courthouse. After the applicant has made his petition for his second paper, he must wait at least ninety days before he can get a hearing. It may be that he will have to wait for more than ninety days. I have known men who have been obliged to wait for two years. When the alien is called before the court, he must bring with him the same two witnesses whom he had when he petitioned for his second paper. If one of them dies, he must get a special permit from the court to substitute another. If during the time he waits to be called into the court for the final examination, he moves to another juridical district, he must make a new petition in the district in which he now resides and forfeit the four dollars he paid in the district from which he moved in the same state. The reason for this is that the court will not transfer its original records. When one considers the frequent migration of the foreign-born, we see how difficult it is for him to secure his naturalization papers.

No one who does not believe in organized government, or who tries to overthrow the present government, or who is a polygamist, or a criminal, or who does not believe in the principles of the American Constitution, or who has a bad moral character, or who does not know how to speak, read, and write the English language, can be made a citizen of the United States. These facts must be proved affirmatively by the applicant for natural-

ization. He must also renounce his former allegiance, and take an oath of allegiance to the United States.

No court can issue final papers within thirty days of any general election. This may or may not affect the issuing of the first papers, according to the way the clerk of the federal court interprets the law. In most local courts the thirty-day regulation preceding elections is observed in the issuance of the first as well as the second paper. The reason for this regulation seems to be that the granting of citizenship papers immediately before election may lead to abuses similar to those common before the power was limited to courts of record. If this is the spirit of the law, it is far-fetched to apply it to the granting of first papers.

If the applicant for naturalization carried any hereditary title, or if he is a member of any order of nobility in the state or kingdom from which he came, he must renounce the title or the order of nobility, and the renunciation must be recorded, before he can be naturalized. If the applicant wishes to change his name at the time he takes out his naturalization paper, he may do so by notifying the court to this effect. The court will then authorize the change and the certificates of naturalization will be issued accordingly.

The United States government makes special provision for the naturalization of soldiers and sailors. Thousands of aliens who joined the United States Army in the last war were taught English and the essentials of citizenship, and were made, without cost to themselves,

American citizens. The law governing this matter is that any alien, twenty-one years of age or over, who can prove one year's residence, and who has received an honorable discharge from the service, may petition for naturalization without having made a previous declaration of intention. The discharge from the service will generally be considered as proof of good moral character. Many aliens, subjects of neutral countries, claimed exemption from military duty at the time of the draft. These find the door of citizenship closed against them. Congress passed a law in 1918 stating that any alien of military age who had taken out his first paper and who gave it up and claimed exemption from the draft, shall forever thereafter be debarred from securing citizenship in the United States. The clerk of court, in order to carry out this provision of the law, asks every alien of military age to show his draft card, which determines his status as to possible naturalization.

Any alien who has served in the United States Navy or Marine Corps for not less than four years, or who has completed four years in the Revenue Cutter Service, or the naval auxiliary service, and who has received an honorable discharge or an ordinary discharge with recommendation for reënlistment, may, on application, be admitted to citizenship without any previous declaration of intention and without proof of residence on shore; the court will take the discharge as proof of good moral character and may naturalize him immediately. Any alien seaman, after he has declared his intention to be-

come a citizen of the United States, may petition for naturalization upon production of his certificate of discharge and good conduct during that service, without further proof of residence.

The penalty for procuring naturalization papers contrary to the laws of the government of the United States is a fine of not more than five thousand dollars or imprisonment of not more than five years, or both, and the court will declare such papers void. Any man encouraging or assisting an alien, who is not entitled to naturalization, to apply for or to secure naturalization, or who gives false testimony in the case of any applicant, is liable to a like fine or imprisonment or both. No person, however, may be tried or punished unless information is filed and the indictment found, within the five years immediately following the commission of such crime.

All clerks of court, having jurisdiction in naturalization matters and exercising the same, must account to the Bureau of Naturalization for all certificates of naturalization issued to them. If a certificate is marred in any way so that it cannot be used, it cannot be destroyed but must be returned to the Bureau. If a clerk of the court cannot account for certificates issued to him, he is liable to a fine of fifty dollars for every certificate lost, which may be collected in an action of debt. The clerk of court must send to the Bureau copies of each certificate of declaration and of all petitions for second papers, within thirty days after the application has been received.

Any person who has dwelt in the United States for five

continuous years, previous to January 1, 1914, and who, if examined, is found qualified to become a citizen of the United States and has exercised the rights of citizenship wrongfully because of misinformation not intentionally practiced by him, may apply for regular naturalization papers without filing a declaration of intention, providing he can prove to the satisfaction of a court having jurisdiction in naturalization that the facts are as stated by him.

2. Preparing Candidates. What should the alien know before he is taken in as a member of the family? We have, as stated above, about two thousand three hundred local courts and about two hundred nineteen federal courts in which aliens may be naturalized. The judges in these courts determine the requirements of candidates, and the questions they ask are the best criteria of what the foreign-born ought to know before he may be admitted to the rights of citizenship. The judges of the several courts do not ask the same questions; the individuality of the respective judges has much to do with what the alien ought to know.

Some judges have very high standards, others sympathize so much with the foreign-born that they virtually invite the men into the family, knowing that their knowledge of the American form of government is most meager. In many cities where large numbers of aliens are naturalized, booklets have been published by court officials, private concerns, philanthropic societies, and other organizations, based largely on the questions asked by the judge or judges, which serve as guides to

those knocking at the door of citizenship. More ambitious outlines of courses are issued in booklet form by municipalities, the states, and the federal government as guides to teachers who aid aliens to prepare for citizenship.

The deputy examiners of the Naturalization Bureau examine the petitioner for second papers when he makes his application and give him advice according to the knowledge displayed. The deputies in some instances do the bulk of the examining on the day the men appear in court, and the judge is advised as to the knowledge displayed by each candidate as he appears before him. If the candidate is fairly well versed in the form of American government, his examination by the judge is brief; if his knowledge is meager, the judge is more strict.

The teacher of a group of aliens preparing for American citizenship ought to have a very clear idea of what he is to teach the class. The character of the instruction given will be largely determined by the character of the men to be taught. The teacher who takes any book on civics or the courses suggested by city officials and government agents must adapt these according to the character of the men preparing for citizenship. Most of the candidates have little aptitude for study, for they never have studied in their lives; besides this, they work hard and can come together for instruction only in the evening, after a hard day's work. We have many wage-earners who work eight hours a day; these men may come to class without serious handicaps. It is very different with men working twelve hours a day.

In teaching it makes a vast difference whether or not men have had any previous culture, and whether or not they have studied matters of government in the homeland before they came to America. A class of Scandinavians is very different from a class of Ukrainians or Russians. The one is literate and versed in democratic institutions; the other may be illiterate, never having studied, and having little or no political knowledge of any government. The teacher must also adapt his instruction to men who know the English language. No alien unable to read simple sentences and answer questions in English should be in a class for naturalization. He should be put in a class to learn English.

Many bi-lingual books are published as guides to aliens preparing for naturalization. Some of these books are printed in three or four languages. It is a mistake for the alien to depend on these aids. The man who uses a bi-lingual book invariably thinks in his mother tongue. He may commit all the book to memory, and, in private, if given the necessary time, will answer the questions asked him in English. When he appears in court, however, he becomes excited and forgets all his English. The best way is for a small group of aliens to meet under the leadership of a competent instructor and discuss in English the form of American government. In this way, the student is trained to understand the question in English, and also drilled to answer in the same tongue; when he appears in the court room, he will not be confused.

The prime interest of the alien wishing citizenship is to pass the naturalization examination. His training must be intensive in the ninety days between the petition and examination, and some critics say: "The course is too narrow; the instruction ought to be so broad that every duty developing upon citizens should be included." I agree with this ideal, but it cannot be realized save in a few cases. No group of wage-earners are so migratory as the foreign-born, and especially is this the case during the first five years following their entrance into the country. Their first job is generally a hard one with a low wage. They will look around and find another — continuously moving, changing work again and again, until they find economic conditions which satisfy them. When a slump comes, the foreigner is the first to be discharged, while in seasonal occupations, such as canning, work on ore docks, in the beet fields, on railroad construction work, etc., the foreign-born makes up the labor force. Add to this the fact that wage-earners in lumber camps and construction work, in metal and coal mines, are predominantly the immigrant group. Another fact is that between thirty and thirty-five per cent of the immigrants return to Europe. The majority of immigrants coming to America have not made up their minds to make this country their home. If things do not go well, they will return. The first year or two are years of economic experiment. They are not eager to attend school during this period, for their faces are set toward the Old World.

The vast majority of men in civic classes are those who have petitioned for their second papers and are anxious to pass the court examination. They have ninety days in which to prepare and all they can do is to learn the names of a few men and the outline of the American form of government. Some of the best men I have ever known, as far as economic worth, parental virtues, law-abiding qualities, and moral character were concerned, had all they could do to gain in three months a clear idea of the form of American government. The worth of a citizen is not to be estimated in the amount of book knowledge he carries, any more than the value of metal is determined by its luster. We do not in the least disparage knowledge from books, but if our citizenry is to be determined by that standard, then the backbone of the country — the producing masses — will not rank high. If, however, we take the qualities which contribute to the strength of society and the life of a nation — family virtues, steady workmanship, observance of law, community spirit — then the wage-earners possess these as much as the groups more highly favored in culture. This is true of the foreign-born wage-earners from whom the naturalized aliens come. The intrinsic qualities they possess, making for good citizenship, ought to count when they apply for citizenship in America.

The way "Coming Americans" are taught in civic classes varies greatly. Some groups, if they are made up of Scandinavians, Britishers, Hollanders, or Germans, meet

once a week for twelve weeks, and acquire a good understanding of the plan of American government in city, county, state, and nation. A group of Russians, or Italians, or Syrians, though they meet three times a week during the twelve weeks, will not acquire so clear a knowledge of the workings of American democracy. One of the most successful training agencies in a large city is a course of twelve lectures given large groups. The lectures, at the rate of one a week, take just three months. Candidates for naturalization may come into the course at any time and take the twelve lectures. Each lecture is illustrated by slides bearing upon the topic treated. The talk is given by a man who knows the workings of the phase of government dealt with — the mayor for the city, a judge for the court, a commissioner for the county, a tax collector for taxes, a councilman for the councils, a representative for the state, a congressman for Congress, etc. The lecture generally lasts about half an hour. The students at the close of each lecture are divided into groups of ten or fifteen to whom teachers are assigned. The teachers lead their respective classes into rooms where the topic of the lecture is discussed in question and answer form. If the pupils understand, they readily answer the questions the teacher asks them. If he is satisfied with their knowledge, they are not asked to meet again that week. If, however, they do not answer the questions intelligently, and show a lack of understanding, they are asked to meet another evening for further drill.

This plan works well. If fifty or more persons are taking a course, some will graduate and leave and their places will be taken by new applicants. If, however, the class is composed of ten or fifteen, the lecture form is not used, but the men are brought together for twelve sessions. The instruction given is in the nature of a seminar — the men are encouraged to ask questions and the pupils are drilled in correct answers. The lecture method is never used in class. It would be a serious mistake to try it. The one great purpose of the class is to see that the men possess the knowledge generally required in the examination, and also that they are able to express themselves when a question on government is asked.

No book in civics will give the local facts pertaining to government in every city and state in the union. The form of city government varies, the governors of states change, and so do the members of Congress and the President of the United States. These facts the candidates must know, and the best way to impart them is for the teacher to prepare in sheet form the facts pertaining to the city and state officials, the municipal officers, congressmen, president, etc. This can be done in some fifty or seventy-five questions, printed in a form which the pupil can easily carry in his pocket. In addition to this each student should purchase a book that will give him a more thorough knowledge of the form of American government.

In addition to the instruction given the pupils in school, we have found that it is very good practice to bring the

clerk of the court or the Naturalization Bureau's deputy to talk to the class some evening. It gives the aliens an acquaintance with an official who represents the government; they find that he is human and the fear they have of government agents is partly removed. For the same reason, it is good practice to take the men to the courthouse and to the room in which they will be examined, so that the place where the test will be applied will not be wholly strange to them.

A group of men having petitioned for naturalization papers need very definite help; they will soon graduate, however, and others must be brought into their place if the work is to continue. For this purpose, we find that the successful candidates are the best advertisers. Many foreign-born men in a foreign-speaking community know nothing of the advantages of becoming an American citizen. To overcome this ignorance, lectures should be prepared to bring before these people the importance of the step and the advantages that will accrue to them and to their children. Of these lectures we will speak in the following chapter.

American products from factory and shop are constantly brought to the attention of the foreign-born. If the same persistency and ingenuity were exercised in bringing before these people the greatest of all American products — American democracy — the work of Americanization would progress faster. We are safe in saying that tens of thousands of foreign-born people have come to America, have lived here for a decade,

have returned to their native land, and all they know of the country is the filthy quarter in which they lived, the unsanitary shop in which they worked, and the vulgar and profane drinking den in which they found sociability. If we have a form of government of which we are proud, let us tell the foreign-born all he ought to know about it; let us put before him that type of democracy which, more than any other, is the hope of humanity!

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CHAPTER VII

LECTURES AND ENTERTAINMENTS

PICTURES are a universal language; they carry a message to all men, no matter what their tongue or color. A decade or so ago the motion picture was hardly known as a means of amusement and education; to-day men predict that it is to be the university of the future for the culture of the masses.

Taking foreign-speaking communities as a whole, it is safe to say that the quality and character of the pictures exhibited in them is poor. The buildings frequented by foreigners are generally poorly ventilated, dirty, and shabby in appearance. The advertisement at the entrance of the theater is more highly colored and more blood-curdling than in places frequented by the native-born. The foreigners need to learn the American way of doing things. In motion pictures, as in all else, they take what America gives. They have no way of expressing their wish, they have no way of registering their protest. They have faith in America. Their children shape their idea of what America is and what it expects of them from the moving pictures exhibited in their district. Very often the scenes shown are not even true to American life. They create

false impressions and misunderstandings and are a hindrance to Americanization. A group of public-spirited men in Washington is engaged in preparing a series of reels that will give the foreign-born a true idea of American life, institutions, customs, and habits; the workings of the American government, and the protection given human liberty under the Constitution. This is work well done and worthy of the backing of every Americanization worker in the land.

In this chapter we discuss material for lectures and entertainments, how to carry on these activities, and the equipment necessary.

1. Material Needed. One of the first needs is to correct the foreign-born's false notions of what America is. Many in the Old World believe that money is plentiful in America, that a great deal of money is made in the industries, that life is gay and full, and that fortunes are easily accumulated. There is some truth in this. The "prince and the pauper" do change places here. To begin the year a pauper and end it a millionaire is not a dream. An immigrant who began life at three dollars a week and died a multi-millionaire is not a novelty. The error is that immigrants believe that luck and not hard work is at the root of these achievements in America. Whoever rises to affluence nearly always does so by hard work. When immigrants enter the industries and earn high wages they must work hard. The American way is to give good pay to men who earn it. Dreams of riches falling full and free into the laps of men in America are all foolish, and the

sooner the immigrant is made to realize this the better. As the country develops industrially and the population increases, there are more of us to run after the plums; much fine fruit hangs on the industrial tree, and it is picked every day by men who work hard and long and risk much in running after it. The immigrant who enters the race must take his chance. The plums are for him as well as for the native-born.

Another erroneous idea is that moneyed men in America are untrustworthy, and that the financial institutions of this country are not as sound as those in the homeland. Many immigrants believe that there are more money sharks to the square foot in America than to the square mile in Europe. This accounts for the practice of the foreign-born of hiding money in bedticks, trunks, and such places. This suspicion should be attacked by the presentation of facts which immigrants cannot learn by themselves. The leaders among the foreign-born can do much to help in this matter. The foreign-born should be told of the development of the country, its resources, its wealth, the extent of its trade, the sweep of its commerce, the laws protecting the wage-earners, the depositor, and the investor, and that the trade and commerce of a nation cannot be built save on confidence in the well-established financial institutions of the country. Much of this work can be done in coöperation with the men who handle the foreign departments of well-established banks.

Many foreign-born men have erroneous ideas about

liberty and freedom in America. They come from countries where censorship and espionage are common, where custom has a far greater sway over the life of the individual than in America, and where fixed standards are far more uniform than in this country. What wonder is it that they are bewildered and confused in the New World where standards and customs of many races of people clash. When an Italian sees girls giggling and flirting with men on the street, unaccompanied by an escort, he is shocked; when the pious Scot sees women lighting their cigarettes after luncheon in a first-class hotel and smoking like veterans, he wonders whether or not women are still attractive; when the thrifty German sees a dinner of seven or eight courses going on and learns what it costs per plate, he wonders how the guests can stand it and where the money comes from; extravagant dresses, lavish expenditure on amusements, luxuries, and non-essentials in the New World would be shocking waste in European communities; bounteous eating which tests one's stomach as well as one's morals, a shameful number of divorces, and variation in religious worship among those who belong to the same church and profess the same creed, — these things shock the foreigner and he asks: "Are all standards to be thrown overboard in America?" All this tends to break down morals and confuse liberty with license. The foreigner must learn that a people capable of self-government is not under tutelage, and that the freedom given to all men is the best safeguard against radicalism and terrorism.

Many foreign-born persons believe that they are not given the same chances as the native-born. Some believe that a foreign name is a hindrance to success, that the race to which one belongs counts in the struggle for subsistence. I have not found it so, and I think that the illustrious names of foreign-born men who have succeeded in America contradict this belief. America is the land where love of fair play is dominant. The man who has an idea to sell, who has genius to invent, who can introduce anything of practical worth in the nation, finds immediate recognition and a commensurate reward. The best way to correct this error is to call attention to the thousands of foreign-born men in positions of responsibility in community, state, and nation, who are honored and loved because of their worth to society, and whose success is due to the service which they render to society. In America, talent and capacity find their level more directly than in any other country, and Americans are willing to pay for service rendered, no matter where a man may have been born.

But not only do the foreign-born need to divest themselves of erroneous ideas, they must also be informed for what America stands. Every foreigner should know something about American history. This does not mean that he should take a course in American history, but it does mean that the epoch-making events which shaped the destiny of this continent and influenced the historic currents of the world should be known to him. As compared with European nations, the United States is a young

nation, but the progress of its democracy has been more influenced by events which have transpired in America in the last two centuries than by those of any country in the Old World. American democracy has changed the ideas of a great many other countries. The American Revolution was the first successful attempt made in the history of the world to overthrow kings and to establish a real democracy, unhindered by heritages of past ages or the stratification of societies. The working out of the Constitution and the self-imposed limitations proved the capacity of the colonists to overthrow one form of government in order to assume another.

The wars of the United States, as before stated, have in most cases been fought in defense of the weak and for the liberation of the oppressed. This record of conflicts during the past century stands in striking contrast with that of some European nations. It takes a new turn in the story of human conflict, and we believe the turn is in the right direction — in the way of righteousness and good will. The story of American diplomacy is one of straightforward dealing and truth telling, and not of prevarication, word fencing, and truth concealing. It has been used to protect the weak and stay the hand of tyranny, to deliver captives and open prison cells, to defend the oppressed and bring mercy and justice into the councils of nations. These facts of American history reflect the spirit of the United States, and should be imprinted on the minds of the foreign-born.

Another service the lecture can render the foreign-born

is to give him an intelligent idea of the geography of America. Few foreigners have a correct idea of the area of the United States, its varied climatic conditions, its agricultural products and the untouched treasures in mountain and plain. Men living in congested areas — in Massachusetts or Rhode Island, in Connecticut or New Jersey, in New York or Pennsylvania — have no idea of the extent of country to the west and south of them. Their idea of America is what they see in the paved streets and crowded houses in industrial centers. A small percentage of foreigners has taken up abandoned farms, the fields have flourished and abundant crops are annually harvested. Let their brethren in urban centers learn something about the untilled acreage of the United States, about the density of population, about the appreciation of land, and what prospects await them in rural life. The future of America depends as much upon its agricultural development as upon its industries.

The lecture is the best way to present American standards to foreign-born. The foreign-born have many virtues — they are thrifty and saving; they cling to the simple life; the foreign-born wife is the breadmaker as well as its distributer. When we consider, however, the character of the home and its furnishings, the care of children, sleeping quarters, the comforts and conveniences the family ought to enjoy, — the foreign-born are far removed from American standards. The chief hindrance to better things is the penury of the foreigner.

Many foreign-speaking families live in America as if

it were merely their boarding place. They do not take root in the land, they simply buy bare necessities and no comforts, their faces are turned continually toward the homeland. Let us give these people an insight into the home of the American workingmen, with its comforts and conveniences, its furnishings and draperies, and its pride in the maintenance of standards which mean family respect, decency, and solidarity. It means a wiser expenditure of money for the good of the family and civilization. The most damaging poverty of the foreigner's home is that of ideals and culture which feed the heart and mind of the growing family.

The lecture should also be used to teach the foreign-born what are the regulations regarding fire, regarding garbage, regarding contagious diseases, what the police regulations are; he should be informed concerning compulsory attendance laws, the procuring of working papers, license laws, probation regulations, laws concerning taxes, loans, and all such matters. These are the things which touch the daily life of the foreign-born living in congested communities, and they will take to picture instruction better than to the club of the policeman or the fine of the police court.

It would, however, be a serious mistake to believe that the foreign-born are to be only recipients of American ideas and standards; they should receive, but they also have something to give. In a former chapter we spoke of the background of immigrant races coming to North America. Each has its culture, — its history, its heroes, its songs, its poetry, — to give to America, and it will

please them if we ask them to sing us their songs and tell us of their heroes. Civilization is the composite production of countless generations, and America has the opportunity to rise to the highest type of civilization only if the best things in ourselves and in the many peoples coming to our shores are conserved.

The Liberty Loan campaigns rendered us one especially good service — they introduced to the people of our large cities their foreign-born neighbors in native costume. In many communities a night was given to each nationality, when representatives appeared in native costume, singing their native songs and dancing their folk dances, to the amusement and edification of all who witnessed the performance. This, I believe, was of greater value to the nation than the sum invested by the foreign-born in bonds. If all the costumes in cities like Chicago or Philadelphia, Pittsburgh or Buffalo were arranged by an artist and made to pass in review before the American people, it would be one of the best lessons ever given in human character. The dresses of the respective peoples very often reflect their mental calibre and artistic taste.

The foreigners also know the secrets of the culinary art. Simon Lubin has said that the acme of American culinary achievement is " ham and eggs," and the presence of foreign-born cooks in rich American homes and in first-class hotels implies that there is truth in Lubin's remark. A descendant of one of the families who came over on the *Mayflower* told me recently that there are only three things indigenous to America — potatoes, strawberries,

and tobacco. A great many of the really good foods have come by importation, and if the peoples of a large American city were to arrange an exhibit of the kinds of food consumed by the races dwelling in it, and how to prepare them for use, our diet would be richer and better.

When we turn from externalities to the riches of the mind, — song and poetry, music and drama, philosophy and ethics, — we enter a field that has in it inestimable riches. Dvorak, when he lived in America, found music worth while in negro melodies. Suppose a musician of equal capacity were to study the songs which the immigrants of many nationalities bring to America, would he not make a contribution to the American musical world that would be worth having? The songs that have stood the test of time are the ones which stir the soul. The nurseries of the world are the best conservatories, for heart songs are there, woven into the very mental fiber of the races. This is the case not only with Anglo-Saxon songs, but with those of every land. Every people coming to America has its immortal songs, which are sung only in the foreign-speaking colony. Bring them out to the light and the storehouse of American music will be richer and sweeter.

The same is true of poetry. We have, through translators, heard the music of the bards of Russia, of Bohemia, of Poland, of Italy, which reveals the yearnings of the souls of men as deep and as strong as we find in our Anglo-Saxon poems. The human heart in its sorrow and joy is pretty much the same, no matter in what clime or

tongue it finds expression. Every nation has its poetry and poets which it cherishes. The Ruthenians love their Shevchanko as the Scots love their Bobbie Burns; Pushkin among the Russians is as well known as Tennyson among the English; Miskievitch among the Poles is as well known as Longfellow among Americans; Dante among the Italians is as popular as Goethe among the Germans; while the Greeks read more of Homer than do Englishmen of Chaucer. If the ideals of the seers of these several peoples were interpreted to America, we should all be better and nobler.

The literature of the several peoples has much that is worth while. Democracy in America is the realization of European dreams. The beginning of democratic government has its roots in Europe. Athens, Rome, the free cities of Italy and of France, were efforts at democratic expression. The merciless Turks practiced despotism in the Balkans for five hundred years, but the democratic spirit of the Slavs was kept alive in the fastnesses of the mountains, and group after group in the nineteenth century fought its way to self-determination. The story of United Italy is full of heroic sentiment and pristine valor. The chivalry of the House of Savoy, the statesmanship of Cavour, the eloquence of Mazzini, and the heroism of Garibaldi, will stir the American heart as well as that of the Italian. What a story can the Poles tell of their struggle for constitutional government, and of suffering when the supreme crime of the eighteenth century was committed. For more than a hundred years has this brave

people pleaded with humanity for a restoration of their land, and at last their prayer is answered by the aid of America. And what shall we say of the Lithuanians, the Letts, the Esthonians, the Finns, the Slovaks, Czechs, Syrians, Armenians, — each counting men and women who bled and died for freedom. They were oppressed by the strong arm of militarism, the will of kings made them serfs, submission to authority was the order of the day for centuries, and the only way of escape for brave souls was emigration. Let America listen to the story of these peoples against tyranny, and it will make us all more appreciative of the liberty and freedom guaranteed to all under the Constitution.

This can be done by entertainments, and the best interpreters of the struggles and sufferings of each people for freedom are the men and women of the several races now a part of our population. The Americanization worker has a rich field to draw upon in the background of the foreign-born, and no better use can be made of the material than to suggest that the sons of brave men give to American democracy the loyalty and sacrifice their fathers gave to the cause of freedom in the Old World.

2. **Method of Presentation.** Lectures and entertainments like that indicated in the previous pages should be promoted. The talks should be illustrated as far as possible, and the more direct and simple the subject matter the better. The best way to address the foreign-born is to secure a set of slides to illustrate the talk, then explain the pictures in a conversational way in the

simplest English possible. If this is done slowly and clearly the foreign-speaking man who knows a little English will be able to understand.

When motion pictures are used, an effort should be made to leave a deep and clear impression on the mind of the spectators. For this purpose, our subject should be carefully chosen and everything in the meeting contribute to making a deep impression on the foreign-born. When reels or slides are exhibited to people who know little or no English, the worker should secure an interpreter who will clearly and deliberately translate the explanatory words. Care should be taken to secure a capable man who will, before appearing in the hall, go over the sentences to be translated, in order that he may do his part well.

Lectures may be given both in and out of doors. This depends upon the season of the year. Whenever weather permits and an audience may be secured, it is better to give the lecture out of doors.

Motion picture lectures in halls must comply with state laws. The Society of Motion Picture Engineers has adopted the safety standard and four distributing companies are now making films of this standard. Most states demand a fireproof booth for the machine. A worker using the safety-standard size has not a very wide range of subjects to draw upon. If he uses the theater-standard size, he must get an asbestos booth; otherwise, he must limit his work to stereopticon slides. Good work can be done with slides, especially when the lecturer deals with agricultural scenes in the Old and the New World,

exhibits of industrial development, biographical sketches, types of housing and improvement, gardening and farming, and many other subjects, all of which would be of great interest.

The place where the lecture or entertainment is given has much to do with its success. If the right approach is made to the leaders, the Americanization director will be able to secure the use of the foreigners' hall or their rented quarters to introduce his program. This was the way the work was started among the Lithuanians of Newark. The director secured the coöperation of the leaders and had the use of the Lithuanian hall for a public meeting. On the evening appointed, he took his lantern and fifty slides and gave an illustrated lecture. Some of the slides were scenes of country life in Lithuania; others showed types of work done in America; a few showed the naturalized citizen in full possession of his sovereign rights. The hall was well filled. Eight hundred people were assembled, — men, women, and children. At the close of the lecture, the women and children went home; the men stayed to discuss the question of being Americanized. The president of the club addressed the members, stated what the director was willing to do, and asked them what was their wish. They voted to organize for Americanization work. A committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements with the director. That winter more than a hundred men regularly attended English classes, and sixty of them secured either their first or second papers.

It is always advisable for the Americanization director to use the organization already in existence among the foreign-speaking. If it has no hall which answers his purpose, he may secure one in the public school most convenient to the foreigners. Philanthropic agencies, such as the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., K of C., Y. M. H. A., and all like societies, have halls furnished with motion picture equipment, which may be used for Americanization work. As the work becomes well established, the men and women will come for a cosmopolitan meeting in a central building where all nations can meet on a common footing and each contribute its part to the evening's entertainment. A special effort should be made to do this once or twice a year.

Managers of motion picture theaters are kindly disposed to Americanization work and will give place to a good Americanization film if the promoter approaches them.

The outdoor lectures in the summer are given on the streets, in the parks, in vacant lots, and sometimes on the roofs of buildings. When a lecture is planned in the street, the permission must be secured of the mayor of the city, who details a policeman or two to handle the boys and close the street to traffic. When an empty lot is used, the consent of the owner is necessary. When parks are used, the promoter coöperates with the man or woman in charge of park activities. In some instances a lantern has been operated from the window of a house and a screen hung on the upper story of the house across the street. Lectures have been given in the summer with

good effect on the roof of a building. Of course, some attraction must go with the motion picture when exhibited in the open air, such as a cornetist or soloist or chimes. One of the most successful programs of outdoor lectures has been projected by the Chicago Y. M. C. A., which, during the summer of 1919, reached no fewer than half a million foreign-speaking people. In the city of New York, the block party plan is used for this purpose. In St. Louis the parks have been very successfully used for the promotion of Americanization and the foreign-born have responded to the message in an astonishing manner.

In every audience of foreign-born men more than one people is represented, and the question of interpreters comes up. If four or five races are present, should we use four or five interpreters? My experience is against this. In one instance three groups — Polish, Italian, and Russniaks — were each assigned a section of the hall and three interpreters secured. During the lecture the three men interpreted simultaneously; the experiment was a decided failure. I have tried one interpreter with varied success. A friend of mine used two lanterns — one interpreting in foreign tongues, and the other showing the pictures; this was not a success, for to look on two screens was annoying and unsatisfactory. Unless I have a good interpreter, I prefer to give the lecture in simple English, talking slowly and clearly, and it is astonishing how much the foreigners will understand. The children are generally present in these exhibitions, and they are good interpreters of the story given to their elders.

The Americanization worker should always enlist the coöperation of the foreign-born. Their leaders should be on his committee. If he plans a Polish night, let a Polish committee take charge of the program. The same should be done with every other nationality, and when a cosmopolitan meeting is planned, let all the racial committees come together and plan the event and carry it out. We should never forget the motto, "Work *with* the foreign-born and not *for* them."

It is also silly to insist that all be done in the English language. War-time hysteria has past, and the absurd legislation passed in Iowa that no one should speak in the presence of four other persons in any language save English would better be forgotten. The foreigners will always use their mother tongue in personal intercourse, in culture, in worship, and in public gatherings. Let them use their own language in song and drama, but be sure that the leaders of these meetings are loyal Americans. Under trusted leadership there is no danger of these gatherings falling into the hands of radicals; our one great objective should be to open up the spiritual and cultural heritage of the respective races, increase their interest in poetry, music, art, and literature, and link these interests to the best that is in American democracy. This will be the safest cure for radicalism, for in this is the expulsive power of character-forming activities.

The Americanization worker should use to the full the national holidays of foreign-born peoples. He should keep on his desk a list of the holidays of the races among

whom he works, and plan entertainments for these times. He should also use our own national holidays on which to bring all nations together to celebrate the occasion. The true spirit of American democracy can only be expressed when all races come together, when all racial antagonisms, all race prejudices, are laid aside, and all nationalities join in one enthusiastic celebration of an American event which is symbolic of the privilege and blessings they all are invited to enjoy. The dominant note in such gatherings should be the coöperation of all in making a better America. A divided people will never realize the acme of twentieth-century civilization. A city divided against itself — a little Poland here, a little Italy there, a little Greece in the other corner — will ever be handicapped by two codes of ethics and varying standards in family and civic life. It is the case of the Jew and the Samaritan over again, and progress is hindered. Use national holidays to bring to all these peoples the consciousness of community interests. Make them feel that their one aim should be to make the city a good place in which to raise boys and girls, and make them look upon America as their home rather than as a place in which to sojourn temporarily.

3. Expense Involved. The Americanization worker should have a motion picture machine and a lantern. Some machines have attachments for both slides and reels, but the worker will save time and energy if he has two equipments.

The best motion picture machine is the standard theater size. Most Americanization promoters project their work

in foreign-speaking communities, and for this work, if one uses the inflammable film, one needs a portable machine and an asbestos booth. This apparatus weighs anywhere from one hundred fifty to three hundred pounds — a cumbersome load to transport from place to place. Many men are using the safety-standard type machine, weighing from twenty to thirty pounds. This machine, with four films of a thousand feet each, will weigh less than sixty pounds and may be carried from place to place, and the Board of Fire Underwriters approves its use in any hall without a booth. The library for the safety-standard machine is not extensive, but four companies are busy daily adding to the supply. A good portable machine costs between two and three hundred dollars.

The Americanism Committee of the Motion Picture Industry, at the head of which is ex-Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, is putting out films on Americanization, which are distributed through the motion picture theaters, the public schools, and philanthropic organizations. The Committee is producing films treating of epochs in American history, illustrating American customs, the lives of great Americans, the plan of American government, the rights of men under the Constitution. This effort will supply a great need. Before this Committee was organized, the number of films adapted to the work of Americanization was small, some produced by private concerns and designed for other purposes than Americanization. Some of the films of the educational department of film-producing concerns served this purpose well.

The Americanization worker should consult the local theater man about films; this man knows what is in the market and can give him useful information. He should consult the catalogues of film exchanges in the district in which he works. Besides these, he should keep in touch with industries, universities, volunteer societies, and all organizations which handle films for distribution. In this way much material may be secured at little cost. He should, however, guard against making a show "cheap" by running poor reels. Money wisely spent on commercial films for the promotion of Americanization pays.

The best light for the lamp is electricity. If the current is in the hall, all the operator needs is to connect with the current. If the current is wanting, he must operate on storage batteries. Before operating in a hall, he should always consult the local authorities as to municipal ordinances concerning the use of motion picture machines; he should also find out what the electric current in the hall is, and in every case follow the direction of the engineer of the local electric company.

The success of a lecture depends largely on the skill of the operator. State laws generally demand licensed operators. If the lecture is given in the open, a man of ordinary mechanical skill can run the machine. If the operator is paid and reels hired, the average cost per night of a good show will amount to twenty-five dollars. This does not include hall rent.

All foreigners do not live in populous cities; there are hundreds of small industrial towns and mining centers

where they settle. The message of Americanization should be brought to these, and the stereopticon lantern offers decided advantages over the motion picture machine. A good lantern may be had for less than fifty dollars, and a rented set of from fifty to eighty slides will cost between five and six dollars. The Americanization worker will be greatly welcomed in these small towns where little or no information is given on American democracy save that brought in by the teacher in the little red schoolhouse.

In the projection of entertainments, the only expense involved is the hall rent. Costumes, music, scenery, decoration, a band, and other appliances are taken care of by the committee of foreign-born men. In one of these entertainments the expense amounted to three hundred dollars, which was taken care of by the committee. When the foreign-born is given a chance to display his culture, he gives freely of his time and money, and he is always anxious to bind his effort to the spirit of America.

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CHAPTER VIII

RECREATION ACTIVITIES

"WHAT recreational work can we do for the foreign-born?" is a question many ask. It depends wholly on the group for which we work. The young men who come from the British Isles, or from Canada, may be organized into teams to play football or cricket; young men of Polish birth will organize a Falcon Society, hire a hall, and carry on physical exercise; a group of Italians will level a piece of ground, get a few wooden balls and play boccie. Every nationality coming to the United States has its games, and the Americanization worker will do well to study these and see the best ways in which he may induce the men to play. It is a fact, however, that foreign-born adults in America do not play much. I have seen Italians in their forties and fifties playing boccie; Slavs of the same age playing at ball; Magyars in middle life interested in the national game, timboli; but these are exceptions; whenever this is done, the community is small and made up largely of these peoples, so that the national spirit has free play.

Among many of the Slavic groups — Poles, Czechs, Slovaks — the Falcon Society is common. The Germans

have their Turnverein. Scandinavians have physical culture societies. The Russians have some societies for physical exercise modeled after the Falcon Societies. The Finns have many halls in which social gatherings and some physical culture are carried on. The Balkan peoples — the Serbs, the Rumanians, the Bulgars — are among the newer immigrants and are not yet organized for physical culture. The Greeks are very fond of athletic exercises, but few are the clubs which exist for this purpose; they generally patronize gymnasiums in the cities in which they live.

The foreign-born physical culture organizations manage their affairs well, having a definite local program, and they are generally connected with the parent organization in the Old World. This is especially the case with the Scandinavians, the Polish Falcons, the German Turnverein, and the British groups. They play the games and practice the exercises suggested by their fellow countrymen in the Old World, and when anniversary meets take place it is not unusual for groups from the United States to cross the seas and take part in them. These organizations are well able to take care of their own affairs; the only point I wish to emphasize is that this field offers the finest opportunity for the promotion of the Americanization program. The native-born, who are organized into athletic associations, affiliate with these foreign-born organizations and bring to pass a more thorough American spirit in the groups than is done in any other line of approach. The foreign-speaking young

men, belonging to athletic associations, are brought into friendly relationship with the members of the American Athletic Association, and the contact and rivalry benefit both parties.

The group, however, in every foreign-speaking community that needs special attention is composed of the sons of the foreign-born. Little or no attention is given to the sons of foreigners. Some Boy Scout chapters are found among the sons of the foreign-born, but these are as oases in the desert. Some Italian clubs for boys are found in cities where that nationality is numerically strong. Settlements organize clubs for the sons and daughters of the foreign-born. The vast majority of boys and girls of foreign parentage, however, are without leadership of the right kind to help them to adjust their life to America.

In this chapter we discuss the question of recreational activity for the sons of foreign-born men. The girls need help also, but the boy problem according to my judgment is the more serious.

1. The Need. "The destruction of the poor is their poverty." This is the case with the sons of the foreign-born. Immigrants have large families, and the wages earned are barely enough to provide them with house, food, and clothing. Parents are not able to give anything to the boy living in a city where the stores are bulging with goods, where the moving picture theaters with thrilling placards and shining lights invite him, and where soda fountains and candy shops appeal to his appetite. His home is cramped,

his clothing scant, and the standard by which the parents were raised in the poverty and penury of the Old World is the one by which they raise their children in the New. The boy sees the children of the native-born better dressed, better housed, and having more of the luxuries of life to enjoy. Under these conditions, it is hard for him to walk straight. He wants some pleasures, he would enjoy some of the sweets of the shop and the bakery, he wants to go to the pictures, to the soda fountain, to the baseball park, but they are out of his reach. Under the strain, many of them obtain money in a way they should not.

All sons of the many types of foreigners are not the same. They vary as their fathers vary. Thomas Chew, who is in charge of the Boys' Club in Fall River, describes the sons of French Canadians as follows: "The French Canadians are behind our American-born boys. I am pretty sure that they comprise almost every illiterate boy in Fall River. They are behind the other boys in playing games. They need educating in play and in trustworthiness. They lack the honor sense. I don't see how I could put them on their honor, as we do other boys — they would hardly know what I meant. They do well under the care of an Americanized boy. Probably they will become better citizens in another generation or two." Compare that with the characteristics of the Jewish boy as portrayed by G. W. Morgan, of the Educational Alliance: "One of the most striking traits of the Jewish character is its intensity . . . the Jew is developed

mentally at the expense of the complementary sides of his nature. It is said of the Irishman that if he cannot easily pick a quarrel, he begins to step on his neighbor's toes as he spits on his own hands and prepares for a clinch. . . . If a Jewish boy cannot agree with his companion on some subject, he begins a volley of pointed querying to establish by what chain of reasoning his companion can possibly agree with him . . . the strength of his passions is his distinguishing trait. His nerves are tuned to a high pitch and readily responsive to the sympathetic touch. His plans once formed, he will plod for years as days, cope with difficulties if surmountable, and if otherwise, bide his time until conditions change. . . . The Jew is an extremist."

The Italian boy is emotional, and yet possesses native shrewdness; he is far from being a Puritan, and still he loves justice, he believes in democracy, he is courteous in manner and speech, he knows how to drive a bargain and can be generous; he knows human nature and dreads to be considered a coward. The Slavic boy differs much from this. He is slower than the Jew and Italian, but has greater perseverance than the latter. He is a dreamer, but keeps his feet squarely on the ground. He is genial and good-natured, but he also will fight and can be brutal when in anger. He will endure wrong rather than make a fuss, but if once this boy takes a stand, he is hard to move.

Of course, the idiosyncrasies of the race are modified in the sons. Rev. E. C. Sartorio, speaking of the Italians

of the second generation, says: "The Italian youth of the second generation oftentimes loses the simplicity, the temperance, the love of family, and the spirit of economy of his father without acquiring the generosity, the soberness of habits, the truthfulness, the sense of justice and the respect for the law of the true American." It is often observed that the sons of Slavs lose many of the virtues of their fathers, who are "simple, religious, humble and quiet, industrious, and very skillful in domestic manufactures, and happiest when plowing, sowing, and reaping." The second generation of Slavs are not as willing as their fathers to lead the simple life, to do the hard work in coal mines and in steel and iron plants; neither are they as industrious. Some one has said that this departure from the simple life of the fathers is degeneracy, a falling down to modern barbarism.

This is inevitable, and possibly the public school and American institutions account for it. Standards in public education and social intercourse in America differ much from those in Europe. The child of the immigrant stands between these two standards. Under the idea of equality and liberty, he breaks away from the standards in the home and from the control of the parents, and drifts. The parents cannot control him, the teachers in the grammar schools, although fine young women, do not appeal to the growing lad, and being in the land of opportunity he makes use of it in ways that are degenerating to him and a menace to society.

The vast majority of the newer immigrants live in

cities. As a rule they are poorly housed. They live in homes abandoned by former generations of immigrants; rents are high, accommodations poor, and playgrounds scarce. If the family has three rooms, it is doing well. In the three rooms live five or more children and the parents. The children must play in the street, and home to many of them means little more than a place where they sleep and eat. The boy comes to puberty with very imperfect ideas of American standards. He drifts farther and farther from the influence of home, and does not come under wholesome American leadership. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the boy will not follow the simple life of his parents; will get into difficulties; and will raise his hand against the society which he does not understand.

Nine tenths of the foreigners were raised in the open country where "God's face could be seen and His ways known to the humblest peasant." The sons in America are raised in the streets and there is no "Angelus," no evening star, no tree or flower, no stream with soft music, and no field where they may wrestle and roll and gather bouquets. The hard streets, the harder curbstone, and the still harder laws behind the policeman's stick — these meet the sons of immigrants. If they could only get the same environment as their parents had, they would have a better chance to retain the simple virtues which adorn their fathers' lives.

An effort is made here and there to remedy the defect by parks. It is a good thing as far as it goes. Some of

our cities have succeeded far better than others. I know a park three acres in area, on which face three churches, and in a radius of half a mile live twenty thousand immigrants. The park has trees, flowers, velvety grass, plants, shrubs, swings, sand piles, and other equipment. The mothers and the babies find it a godsend, but it is a torment to the boy. He wants to play, he has his ball, and the park has no diamond. The boys must play on the street. "Keep off the grass" is not to his liking, but the beauty spot so pleasing to mothers and babies cannot be preserved in any other way. Within a mile of that three-acre oasis are a thousand boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen; the gang is formed there with no one to lead it and direct the goodness of the boys' hearts aright in play and sport.

I have visited many settlements, and invariably the boys reached are of foreign-born parents. Settlements are generally located in populous industrial centers where the greatest congestion is found. They are centers of light in the sea of humanity in cities where many boys and girls are lost. The men and women in charge are doing their best, but how inadequate is the effort when one considers the thousands of boys and girls unreached. Those reached are brought face to face with higher standards and acquire tastes for better things. This contact must influence the home from which the boy comes as well as the boys who do not frequent the settlement. If every boy and girl reached by settlements becomes a power for good, if he or she stands for higher

standards, for better and nobler things, the work is well done.

Some boys when they come to the age of sixteen break away from these institutions to which the "kids and the girls go." The lad who hankers for something more strenuous, more appealing to his awakening nature, something that will call out the man who will soon stand on the threshold of life — that boy stands in greatest need of direction and guidance.

Much is said about using the schools as social centers. Cannot these be made to meet the need of the boys and girls of foreign-born parents? The immigrants, as before stated, live in the most congested part of the city. Since the families are large, the school accommodation is generally inadequate, the rooms are crowded, and every available room from cellar to garret is in use. Modern school buildings, with playground, gymnasium, and swimming pool, are not usually found in sections where the foreigners live. Where school buildings are used as social centers, they do not meet the need of the boys of foreign-born parents. Wherever the experiment has been honestly tried it has met the need of only three or four per cent of the boys; the mass is not reached and will not be reached by any kind of educational propaganda.

The boy of the foreign-born is the working boy. Under economic stress, the growing boy and girl must go to work as soon as possible, to supplement the family budget. State and federal laws raise the age limit at which youths can begin work. In most states the age limit is

fourteen, but social workers want sixteen, and, if they have their way, the boy of sixteen who has not finished grammar grades will stay in school till he is eighteen.[1] I do not discuss the advisability or inadvisability of this effort; but this type of legislation affects no group in the country as it does the immigrant. They send their children to parochial schools and when they leave these at the age of confirmation, they are one or two years behind the children in the public school. If the children then go to public schools, they are put in grades where the "kids" are and they break away if they can. The parents need their help at the present minimum age at which they can begin work, fourteen; if, however, the law is amended to read that no child under sixteen or seventeen years of age can obtain his working papers unless he has graduated from the elementary school, a majority of these foreign children, who ordinarily graduate later than the native-born, will be kept out of industry until an unfortunately late age.

When these boys begin to work they need strong leadership far more than when they were in school. A lad who works has money of his own, he feels the path of life under his feet and wants to tread it, he cannot long be kept under old-country régime, the narrow life of his parents will not suit him; on all sides a new world calls him and around is the larger and more abundant life

[1] In the city of New York, in 1919, of 18,749 children, fourteen years of age, given working certificates, 13,694 or 73% had not finished the eighth grade, and of 11,709 children fifteen years of age beginning work, 7734 or 34% had not completed the eighth grade work.

into which he longs to launch — he needs a leader. To give this boy the right leadership, to direct his craving for the larger life of America — that is a challenge to the best manhood of America.

We need also to bring the son of the foreigner and the son of the native-born into closer union and better understanding. Professor Pupin says that his colleagues in college considered him an American, not because he took the first prize in Greek and in mathematics, but because he could fight. That is the way Italian boys along the Hudson prove their Americanism.

Racial pride and antipathy are found in working boys. Boys are called " Dago," or " Hunkie," although native-born, because their fathers are foreigners. This hinders community interest in American life. Some good men believe that the foreign-born and his son are good for nothing save to do the chores of the nation. This is not the American spirit. I am glad to testify that most foremen and superintendents I have found are anxious to give the boy of foreign parentage a square deal. The son of the foreign-born needs the same opportunities in education, play, and work as are given to the sons of the native-born. He does not ask anything more, he deserves nothing less. All he wants is a clear field and a fair chance. His father knew little of America and was satisfied with few things. His son raised in our schools knows America, its opportunities, its riches, and its possibilities. He cannot be put under the yoke while others enjoy the privileges of American civilization.

2. Possible Service. The home is the most influential of all forces in shaping the lives of men, and the boys who have good homes ought to be encouraged to make them the place where their chief interests center. Homes will hold boys only when they are attractive as well as disciplinary, loving as well as educative, joyous as well as coöperative. This demands an adequate material basis, and unfortunately this is wanting in the homes of thousands of foreign-born men in the United States. If a home is made up of two rooms, it is hypocritical to expect a boy — one of five or six children — to spend his evenings in it. The mother cannot find room for the boy, and will not be able to keep him off the streets.

Mr. John Ihlder, Secretary of the Philadelphia Housing Association, asked in an Americanization Conference in Washington, D.C., "Can we Americanize the spirits of our foreign-born without Americanizing their environment?" and his answer was an unequivocal "No." Any one familiar with the cramped quarters where foreigners live, the dirty streets, the congestion, sympathizes with Mr. Ihlder's views, and what is bad for the adult is tenfold worse for his son of native birth. The boys need better and larger homes to conform with twentieth-century standards.

Better housing, however, is not the only thing needed to aid boys to adjust themselves to the relations of life. The parents themselves need to face their responsibility to their sons. The trend of modern social legislation is to relieve the parents of obligations which were

a pleasure to loving fathers and mothers in former years. They are not required to sacrifice to secure the books the boy needs in school — they are provided; they need not feel anxious whether the boy is at school or not — the truant officer attends to that; the public recreational inspector arranges for his play life and the church sees to his religious life; and now municipalities are still further asked to make appropriations for meals in the schools, physical examinations, dental clinics, clothing and shoes, and places where the children may be safely kept while the parents go to the moving pictures. The responsibility for the physical, educational, and religious training of the boy is shifted from the home to outside agencies. These may be in the hands of good men and women, specially trained to discharge these several functions, but they will never be discharged as they would be by loving and caretaking parents. The subtle tendency to shirk our responsibility, so apparent in civic life, has crept to an alarming degree into the home, and parents turn over to others the duties which devolve upon them by the laws of nature and of God, and which can never be as well discharged by other agencies.

The public school is doing splendid work in the education of the sons of foreign-born parents. Many school buildings in our cities are imposing structures, influencing for good the mind of the child. The elementary curriculum is also well calculated to prepare them for the duties of life. The care taken of the children and the love bestowed upon them by their teachers are potent forces in

shaping the lives of the boys. If the sons of foreign-born parents are kept in school till they are sixteen years of age, the one regrettable feature is that the teachers are not always strong, manly men who would appeal to the growing boy. The boys of foreign-born homes, especially during the last few years of their school life, should be taught by persons other than young girls.

With the raising of the legal age at which boys may be employed there should also go a better adaptation of school courses to the needs of these lads. The education given children up to the sixth grade is well planned to give them the rudiments necessary for the work of life, but subsequent courses are not so adapted. When the boy is twelve years old, he wants to use his hands, and especially is this the case if he has little else open to him but a life of manual toil. In towns like Lawrence, where the boys will have to go to the mill to earn a living; or like Uniontown, Pennsylvania, where they will have to go into the mines; or like Farrell, Pennsylvania, where they will go into the steel mill; or like Akron, where they will go into the rubber factory, there should be some arrangement by which the boys of thirteen could get training in these industries, in processes, in the nature of material, in the handling of tools, in rules that govern the trade, to fit them to earn their living. Ninety per cent of the boys must earn their bread and butter as soon as possible, and "bread and butter education" should be given if it aids them to earn their living in a better and happier way.

Almost all the sons of foreigners come from homes where the struggle for subsistence is a continuous one. The problem of providing three meals a day, of keeping the family clothed, of paying the rent, the gas bill, the coal bill, is a serious one, and the standards of idealists have little place in this matter-of-fact home. To have the boy study algebra, the classics, drawing, rhetoric, advanced English, may be acquiesced in by parents, but it does not receive the indorsement of their practical judgment. If the boy spent half his time in the factory school, where, under sympathetic, wise, and experienced teachers, he would learn how to handle tools, grow familiar with processes, know something about machines, what a bodkin means, how to tie the thread, and be trained in some craft, he would be a better worker, earn more, and drift less. Such a program would appeal to parents, who would heartily coöperate with both teacher and industrial supervisor.

The boy coming to the age of adolescence also needs the discipline of work. To keep the overgrown son of the stolid Slav in school till he is sixteen or seventeen is not good for the boy or the parents. The studies pursued in our school to-day will not hold the boy, and the parents protest against them. They want something practical and the boy longs to join the army of his peers who earn their bread by work; to get up with the workers, tramp the streets to work in the early morning, stand at the machine till the bell rings, to quit and draw his pay. He needs the boss, the regular task, the penalty

of failure, the reward of success. He needs the competition of other boys, the rivalry that calls out laudable effort and the stimulus which comes from work well done. There is nothing that will take the place of this discipline of work in the life of boys in the adolescent period, and to deprive them of it without the substitution of some means equally good for the future of the boy as a wage-earner, is not wise nor of social advantage.

Parallel with the raising of the age at which boys can begin work should go a plan of industrial education for boys destined to manual labor. This would be welcomed by the sons of foreigners. Every community where industries flourish should perfect a plan by which boys of fourteen should spend half their time in work and half in school until they are sixteen, when they should become members of the industrial army of that town. A mechanical arts department connected with the public school is in most instances more of an apology than anything else. The equipment is meager, the things done by the boys are more play than work, the master's knowledge is generally that of one trade, and the work done is not taken seriously. It is too artificial, too far removed from the real task of life. Put the boy in a real factory, where things are made for the market, where men and women are in dead earnest making a living, where the foreman knows his job, and his worth is estimated in terms of production. That is the field for the boy, and the manufacturers' association in every industrial community would be dis-

charging a community obligation by making its plant a school as well as an economic asset to society.

The play life of boys also needs leadership. Play is to the boy what color is to the flower. A boy who does not play is unnatural. It is his first real contact with life, and he learns for the first time something of the rules of the game of life. The boys of the age of adolescence want play that means physical endurance, such as boxing, wrestling, running, hurling. Slight-of-hand work and the tricks of magicians are their delight. Leaders able to direct their play life along these lines can do anything they will with the boys. The ambition of every healthy boy is to excel in manly strength. Physical exercise is indulged in for this purpose, and boys having this ambition are never more hurt than when told that they cannot develop a fine muscle. How to supply the right leadership to the boy of foreign parentage coming to adolescence is one of the most pressing problems in Americanization.

I have mentioned earlier in this chapter the Sokols of the Czechs, the Falcons of the Poles, the Turnverein of the Germans, — societies for the physical culture of adults. They do not touch the boys of the foreign-speaking. Most of the halls in which physical exercises are carried on are not fit places for growing boys to frequent. Some parish halls are used for this purpose, but as a rule they are poorly equipped. Some philanthropic organizations are found, — in Fall River, Troy, Buffalo, and other places, — which are doing good work among the boys of foreign

parentage. Looking over the field of the boys of foreign parentage in the country as a whole, we are safe in saying that the provision to take care of the play life of these lads is woefully wanting. No class of boys in the country has greater need, no class is left more to its own resources. When a delegation from the government of Italy came to the United States to study the conditions of Italians in America, they stated that the sons of Italian immigrants raised in New York City did not come up to the physical standard of their parents. This criticism will hold true of the sons of foreigners generally. They live under different conditions from those found in agricultural communities in which their fathers were raised. It is the same problem as that of the descendants of men who come from the farm to the city; their children do not possess the same vigor or grow to the same stature as their fathers.

The sons of foreigners will not work on the farm any more than their fathers did. Many farming sections are populated by Scandinavians, Germans, and Bohemians. Some farms are held by Finns, Italians, Poles, Magyars, and Jews; but the number of these several peoples found in agricultural communities is as a drop in the bucket when compared with the millions in industrial communities. The problem of the sons of foreign parentage is a city problem, and the equipment necessary to do efficient work costs money.

3. Urban Advantages. The question of the physical development of the sons of foreign-born parentage can be settled only by carefully applied scientific measure-

ments. These should be given by competent men and on a scale large enough to give data that will suffice to base facts upon. If the physical organism of the son of the immigrant is deteriorating in our cities, society ought to know it, for nothing is more important for the future of an industrial community. There are, however, certain advantages in urban life which should be made available to the sons of foreign-born parents.

One of the greatest of these is the intellectual opportunity which never comes to the sons of men in rural communities. The city dwellers have better educational facilities, libraries from which to draw books, and other means of culture, such as lectures, music, and art. It has been stated that no man ever achieved fame who did not enjoy the advantages of urban life when his intellect was in the making. It is the city, with its varied life, with its jostling and hurrying, with its chances and its changes, its celebrities and its varied talent, its rich rewards and its appreciation of talent, that calls out the best in the lives of men. Urban life has its physical disadvantages but it also has advantages of cultural and moral value.

I have not known one person whose special function was to bring to the attention of sons of foreigners the advantages that are at their door. Why could not the Americanization Community Committee do this? Take the city of Philadelphia; how many of the sons of Italians, in the Italian colony, know anything about the art galleries in the city? An effort to bring this art by lecture,

illustrated by stereopticon slide, before the Italian youths would quicken their artistic talent. How many of the sons of Slavs in Philadelphia know anything of the horticultural interests in the city? They are sons of farmers, their tastes for horticultural products is in the blood, and with proper culture we might well look among the lads in this group for many who would contribute to the agricultural interests of the country.

Much has been done in popularizing the library, but for the sons of foreign-born parents little is done to guide them in the proper use of books, that they may use them to aid either in the conflict of life or in enriching its values. The educational advantages of our cities are boundless. There are hundreds of men who would gladly help the sons of foreigners to make better use of their time and their talent; there are thousands of sons of foreign-born parents in a city like Pittsburgh who would be glad of such help that they might become of greater use to society and to themselves. The need is to bring these two personalities together — the one who is willing to give, the other who is willing to receive.

Any one visiting Cooper Institute and talking a few minutes with the director learns that the waiting list of students in every department is very large. Boys from foreign-speaking homes come knocking at the door of this institution and cannot enter, for there is no room. They are thirsting for knowledge, and opportunity is wanting. In thirty cities of the first class, north of the Ohio River, the sons of foreign-born parents are from twenty to

twenty-five per cent of the school population and they are the least educated. They begin work early and, lacking economic opportunity, they remain in the lower ranks of labor all their days. Better educational advantages would have enabled some of them to rise to positions of responsibility. It is the privilege of the Americanization director to open the door of opportunity to these boys.

One way in which he may do this is to address societies of boys in foreign-speaking churches. In a Greek Orthodox Church in the east, two hundred and fifty boys were found between the ages of ten and sixteen; the priest welcomed an agency that enlarged the lives of these boys and led them into the more abundant life. There are scores of priests who do not know what to do to extend opportunities to boys, and a wise presentation of what advantages lie near them is welcomed. The members of a club organized by one of the educators of New York City to visit historical places in and around the metropolis were astonished to find so much material of interest on Manhattan Island. If a man who knows art should offer to conduct a group of Italian boys of fourteen or sixteen years through the several art exhibits in Philadelphia, would not the priests in Italian parishes gladly coöperate? If the Slavic boys could visit the botanical gardens, or museums of natural history, or an industrial exhibit, it would mean a rebirth to some of them. The more often such parties are organized the better. We do not begin to develop the cultural opportunities of cities. Society

can well afford to bestow on boys of native ability the best of culture no matter who their parents may be.

The city offers much material in men and equipment that can be used in doing work of a practical character for the sons of foreign-born men. I have a friend in a first-class city who is giving all his time to the sons of immigrants. In a statement he sent me recently, he gives instances of how other organizations serve the boys under his leadership. He has a Glee Club made up largely of Russian and Italian boys. They sing well, and the director is proud of the lads. Through a friend, he brought the singing ability of his Club to the attention of the president of the Rotary Club, who sent an invitation to the boys to sing at one of the regular meetings of the Rotarians. Thirty boys came and sang before the body and captivated every member. The leader of the boys writes: "After the meeting several members came to me and wanted to know what they could do for these boys, and it is up to me to point them the way." Another group of fifteen boys, made up mostly of Mexicans, entertained the business men of the City Club. They sang, wrestled, danced, tumbled, and boxed. The only performer other than the boys was the accompanist and a player on the saxophone. The boys acquitted themselves splendidly, and many of the men at the close of the hour had a higher appreciation of the foreigners' sons.

The sequel of this effort of the boys to entertain "real" Americans is significant. Some members of the Rotary

Club furnished the trucks necessary to take the boys of the Glee Club and their friends for an outing to a mountain twenty-five miles from the city. The boys and their leaders numbered seventy-six. They had a glorious time. They played, cooked their own food, listened to stories of great men, erected a pole and unfurled the Stars and Stripes on the highest peak of the mountain. The boys still speak of the trip, and ask when they can go again. The men who were entertained by the Mexican boys invited the lads to a bountiful "spread." The donors had real fun in the event, and the boys did justice to the ample supply of good things prepared for them.

In another city where there are many foreigners, six clubs have been organized for boys of as many nationalities. The men in charge of this work arrange, now and again, a joint meeting of all the clubs, and all the boys sing and play and have a social time together. In each meeting some prominent man is invited to address the boys, and they never fail to listen to one who has something worth while to say. In the summer time friendly games are played between the members of these clubs, and the contact of group with group under proper leadership is refining and stimulating. The best team of the boys of foreign-born parentage challenged the "Mohawks," made up of sons of native-born parents. In the contest the challengers won. The "real" American boys in that town have considerable respect for the sons of the immigrants.

I believe that it is not best to organize clubs of boys

wholly made up of sons of foreigners. We have, however, in large cities to face the facts. In the Italian quarter in Philadelphia, where there are more than a hundred thousand Italians, the worker must, in that section of the city, organize boys' clubs wholly made up of Italians. The same is true of the Polish section of Chicago, and the Greek section of Lowell. In such instances, the director is helpless. If any organization is perfected for boys in a foreign quarter of a populous city, it must be done for one nationality. The objective, however, in this, as in all Americanization work, should be to weld the various nations into one. The director can only hope to do this with boys organized in foreign sections of large industrial centers, by bringing together the foreign- and native-born youth in friendly games. When this is judiciously done, the result invariably is satisfactory.

The purpose of this chapter has been to state how it is possible to conserve the physical power of the growing manhood in the homes of foreign-born. I feel, however, that the recreational program would come short of the best results for the sons of foreigners if it did not conserve moral as well as physical and mental values. Lowes Dickinson said: "The Greeks are the only people who have conceived athletics spiritually." I believe in vocational guidance, in baths, in gymnasiums, in socials, and hikes; but the sons of foreigners will not come to their own if these are considered an end in themselves. In a section of the metropolis of this nation, made up wholly of foreign-born families, the public school, the

library, the Boy Scout master, and the Y. M. C. A. have joined hands to bring together the boys of twenty different peoples, once a week, for singing and a sound lecture on character-building. Between four and five hundred boys assembled. Good music is furnished, the speakers are drawn from all classes and creeds, and the boys enjoy coming. This effort in behalf of the young manhood of this section of the city has gone on for more than a decade, and is as popular to-day as the day on which it was instituted. Each of the four organizations conducting the work chooses its leading young men to sit on the committee of management. The tickets for the meetings are distributed through the several organizations by their own members; the young men feel they are doing it themselves, and it is a success.

No one can tell what amount of good results from these efforts, but the consensus of opinion of those who have observed them is that they contribute much to the moral fiber of the growing youth of the community. They bring to the attention of the boys standards of conduct, the ethics of business, and the social obligations binding all men. The sons of foreigners are undoubtedly more neglected and more tried than the sons of native-born, and an effort of this kind is undoubtedly worth while.

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CHAPTER IX

ADVISORY COUNCILS

THE purpose of this chapter is to advocate the organization of boards of counselors to advise the foreign-born in all cases of difficulty. It may be said that a board of this kind would be of great value to the native-born wage-earner. I don't doubt it for a moment. My special purpose now is to make a plea for the foreign-born wage-earner; the man who comes to America ignorant of the English language, and from a country wholly different in civil government, economic life, and social custom. This man needs help, which should be given to him free of charge.

It is surprising how many people are ready to exploit their fellow men. An instance which came to my attention lately well illustrates how widely scattered this spirit is, and how men clothed with a little authority use their power to their own profit. A company of Albanians wishing to go back to Albania asked a leader of their own nationality to carry on the preliminary arrangements. They needed passports, and the leader said it would cost each man six dollars and seventy-five cents for fees and incidentals. The leader did not know how to get the pass-

ports, so he applied to the Y. M. C. A. secretary, who secured them at an expense of three dollars per man. The leader, when asked to return to each man the other three dollars and seventy-five cents, refused to do so. The representative of the federal government in that district had to sign each passport, and asked each man to pay him five dollars for doing so. The question was taken up with Washington, and the men were told that the agent had no right to charge a cent. Four of the men, impatient at the delay incident to the routine of government agency, went to a deputy counselor and asked his aid. He served them, expedited the process by a few days, and charged each man fifty dollars for the service. This, unfortunately, is the way many foreign-born men are treated. In every foreign-speaking colony there are those who thrive on the ignorance and weaknesses of the wage-earners. These cunning men render service to their countrymen, but their charges are exorbitant. Against these practices the Americanization worker should wage war; the wrong done the foreign-born, though not known to him at the time, will later be found out and it has a tremendous influence in shaping his thoughts of America.

The organization of a Board of Advisors, willing to sit and give free advice, will have two effects: it will drive many of the parasites out of business, and will also give the wage-earner of foreign birth greater confidence. If this immigrant brother knows that his American friends are willing to help him and see that he secures an honest

deal, he will not submit to exploitation. This service will shape aright the opinions of immigrants and will break down the wall of partition between the foreign- and the native-born.

1. The Difficulties of a New Environment. Americans, traveling in foreign countries, having only their mother tongue at their command, know the difficulties encountered by the immigrants coming to America. Our people traveling in Europe are alert; when in difficulty they can command the services of capable interpreters. That is not the case with the immigrants in the United States. They have no money and often no friends; they are shy and timid; they left a backward country and are bewildered by the wonders they see in a progressive one; they handle tools which do more work in an hour than their fathers would do in a month. Under these conditions who can discern the thoughts of these men? Let the men on the Advisory Council put themselves in their place and they will do their work better.

Everything in America is very different from the homeland. An immigrant taken from Ellis Island to the subway is bewildered and terrified; men and women rushing to and fro underground, transported by some unseen and unknown power, is a thing he never thought possible. When he looks for work, he again sees men rushing to and fro at a breakneck speed and working at a pace never thought possible in the Old World. At home he worked leisurely, sociability and industry were wedded together; he sang at his work there; in America there

is no song and no sociability is possible. He buys clothes and food and finds that he must pay for these three times as much as he paid for food and clothing in Europe. He pays as much in rent for one room in America as he would for a farm in the homeland.

Who can tell what thoughts come and go in this man's mind? You may talk to him of the American standard of living, but he will not understand; all he knows is that he pays so much for food, clothes, and shelter, and he computes it in Old World money and he cannot understand it. He goes to church and is expected to pay every time he enters the building. This is a new thing — he never paid anything in the homeland, and he cannot understand why he should do so here, and a lecture to him on the separation of church and state will not help. He finds a difference in the enjoyments of life. He goes to a dance and finds himself in an atmosphere wholly different from anything he ever experienced before. Men and women are more free, they do not pay attention to the courtesies common in the Old World, there is an air of recklessness in the conduct of all, money is liberally spent. In some countries in Europe these habits also prevail and racial custom is forgotten. In mining camps and mill towns liquor is still procurable in spite of the fact that the law of the land forbids its sale. Men under the influence of drink often become boastful, quarrelsome, and even brutal. The foreigner cannot understand all this, but nine times out of ten he will begin to talk as they talk, knowing not

that he copies profanity and vulgarity such as were never known in the quiet home from which he came.

At work, he finds men curt, harsh, hurried, and inconsiderate. He worked for wages before he came to America, but the relation of employer and employee on the farm was very different from the relation between the immigrant and the American boss. He will in time get accustomed to it, but never will he understand why the bluster, the continual drive, and the cursing are necessary. When work is a little slack, he is thrown out without explanation, or he goes to work as usual and finds the gate closed. Greater consideration was given the wage-earner "at home"; he was not cut off from his work like this. When he takes out his pay, he finds that certain deductions are made; so much for the doctor, so much for insurance, and perhaps so much for the church. He asks what these are; it may be that his friends will be able to inform him, and perchance none of them knows. He was never told of them, he was never consulted, he may have been handed a sheet which explained these deductions in English, but that might as well have been put into the hand of a baby. How many Americans think of these things?

This foreigner walks the street — surprises never cease. He sees wealth displayed in windows such as he never saw before, and wonders what kind of people use these articles. Among his companions he finds a state of mind very different from anything he met in the Old World — different towards authority, personal rela-

tions, and womanhood. Some talk as if there were no law in the land; that the courtesies of man to man cannot be exercised in America; that the relation of the sexes is most free. The common sense of well-balanced men will cure the foreigner of these silly notions, but hundreds of men are led astray and only brought to their senses by the stern hand of the law. A young Italian on the threshold of manhood is now in a reformatory because of this very reason. He worked in a shop where his fellow workers said that the girls in America were all free; all he had to do was to show some money and the girl was his. He followed the teaching literally, insulted two respectable young women, and is to-day learning what law is, and how America honors its womanhood. When a group of foreign-speaking men moved into a "dry" state, they knew nothing of the laws regulating the sale and the keeping of intoxicants in the home. They had some "wet" goods with them, and no sooner were they settled in the state than a constable raided the place, and the town's treasury was richer by more than a hundred dollars. If we meditate on these things, we shall find some way to help our foreign-born brother.

2. Men Who Can Counsel. The number of men on the board is not as important as the quality. They should be men of character and judgment, sympathetic with the foreign-born, and willing to listen to his story and to serve him in every possible way. In every foreign-speaking community the chief of the police or the sergeant in charge of the district, the justice of the peace and the

constable, know more about the difficulties and trials of the immigrants than any one else. The Americanization promoter should consult these men about the shortcomings, the crimes, the exploitation of the foreign-speaking. It is the consensus of opinion among these men that the crimes and failings of the foreigners are due to their ignorance more than to criminal tendencies. If men who know the crimes committed by the foreign-born are found, they are the best persons to serve on the board. The difficulty is, however, to find the right man, free from political attachments, and so well thought of among the foreigners that they will come to him as to a friend.

The foreigner fears the police authority and government officials in general. It is the heritage they bring with them from the Old World, and is due to the mailed fist of authority exercised upon the people for hundreds of years. This fear is in the blood and they find it difficult to overcome. In America they have the same fear of the man in official garb, and when he visits their home or calls upon them at the works, they tremble with excitement. For this reason, it is advisable not to ask the chief of police to serve on the board. It is very important, however, to appoint a man versed in the working of a municipality, one who knows the foreigner and the mistakes he makes in civic relations. Such a man would be helpful not only in counseling the foreigner, but also in giving valuable suggestions for lectures bearing upon civic duties; if he would not deliver a talk on this subject

himself he would at least be able to direct the worker to the right person. "Prevention is better than cure," and such a lecture would aid the foreign-born to avoid many pitfalls in the intricate life of a modern city.

A man versed also in the industries and in the laws regulating compensation for injuries would be of great service on the Advisory Council. Employers of labor know these regulations, and sometimes they take advantage of the foreigner's ignorance. I have found most employers of labor just and honorable; they sympathize with the foreign-born and would not think of taking advantage of him. All employers, however, are not so. Some treat the foreign-speaking as they would not dare to treat their English-speaking employees. They have no conscientious scruples if they can safely defraud foreigners and their dependents of their due. The English-speaking generally know their rights, but it is safe to say that thousands of foreign-speaking men do not. This is due partly to their ignorance of English and partly to the frequent migration of foreign-born workers. If a Russian learns what the Industrial Compensation act is in Pennsylvania and moves to Michigan, he may imagine that the laws are the same in both states and fail to secure protection because of varying provisions. The member of the Council conversant with the provisions of the Industrial Compensation acts, as well as with other labor regulations involving the interests of the wage-earners, will be of great value to foreigners. A friend working on such a Council wrote me: "After six months' work, we secured the Greek three

hundred dollars." That Greek will always remember the service rendered him and be disposed to think of America as the land of the square deal.

Many foreign-born peoples are also victims of petty officers who regard "foreigners" as legitimate prey. They spread their net, make a raid, catch many persons, and exploit them. They never do this to the English-speaking members of the community, but the "foreigner," — he has no rights that should be recognized. Many laws of the state and ordinances of the city, if literally enforced, would make the major part of the dwellers very uncomfortable and policemen unpopular. Fortunately, the officers are not on every corner watching for victims, — that is, of the English-speaking kind. This, however, is too often the way in the case of the foreigner. Petty officers with little to do sometimes pounce on a group of foreign-speaking young men having a good time and injuring no one. We all believe in law and order, but when the "foreigner" is singled out as an easy mark for the enforcement of an obsolete law that impertinent officers may have some excuse for their existence, it is bad practice from both the government and the community viewpoint. These victims of official greed deserve the protection of the Advisory Council.

There is also a disposition on the part of many communities to lay all crime and disorder at the door of the "foreigners." They are guilty of crimes and misdemeanors just the same as other people, but it is a mistake to think that the foreign-born adult is more

criminal than his native-born neighbor. This opinion, though not based on fact, works mischief to the foreign-born. A petty officer will club a foreigner, throw him into prison, let him "rot" there, and when brought to court the man is dismissed for lack of evidence. No one sympathizes with the victim — he is a foreigner and the public conscience puts his suffering down to vicarious sacrifice for sins of foreigners who have escaped punishment. This is largely the reason why foreign-speaking groups combine to defeat the course of justice; they believe that the government is against them, and they retaliate by hiding the criminal. The one remedy is to dispense impartial justice to the foreigner, to see that in the courthouse he is justly treated, to see that capable and conscientious interpreters are employed, to protect him against unnecessary incarceration, and to see that trial is given him without excessive charges. If this is done, the foreigners will respect the law, will aid the course of justice, and will regard the land of their adoption as the country of just treatment of immigrants. This is work the Advisory Council should be prepared to perform.

A great many foreigners get into trouble among themselves; sometimes their quarrels are fanned by men who look for something to do. A man is thrown into prison, his friends are approached, or his money in the bank is taken, and the promise made, "We put you on the street." The man's money is soon gone, but the prison door is not opened. When the last cent is squeezed out of him, as

well as out of his friends and relatives, then something may be done. The victim knows nothing of the process of justice. The grand jury may ignore the case and the prisoner is free. The sinister lawyer takes the man out, claims credit for his release, and if he cannot obtain cash, he enters a claim against his wages. These unprincipled men who torment their victims, and, by cunning and unrighteous practices, squeeze out of them and their friends the last penny, are the ones the Advisory Council should go after and drive out of business. Against these villains we should wage righteous warfare, and let the foreigners know that they have American friends to defend the weak and champion the cause of the man who does not know.

During war days thousands of foreign-born men found friends who answered questions and filled in draft papers given them by the government. The memories of kind words and deeds by sympathetic men still live in the hearts of these men. They were services the foreigners appreciated and were grateful for, since they of all men called to serve the country were most helpless. This was special service rendered on a special occasion, but it would surprise most of us if we knew how often foreigners in times of peace want help to fill in papers, or to comply with certain forms perplexing to them. Many make mistakes when acquiring property which might have been avoided if a friend who knew had advised them. The scandal of land sales to the foreign-born is well known; so are also the bogus stocks sold to these people. No section of the community is subjected to more villainous

schemes promising much and performing little or nothing. Cunning men are after the foreigner's hard-earned cash, and they succeed in obtaining much of it. The government gives him protection, but the veil of a foreign tongue makes it more difficult to catch the schemer. A council such as we have in mind will do much to safeguard the innocent and the gullible from such schemes. The foreign-born wants a friend — sympathetic, judicious, and versed in the matter in hand — and the suspicion of the foreigner will soon disappear, and the heart of America — that is, the best spirit of the land — will win them into more sympathetic understanding of our country.

3. **Safeguards.** An Advisory Council such as we have suggested will not be able to do good work unless the members coöperate with representatives from among the foreign-speaking peoples. Indeed, the members of the Council may not be able to talk to the men who come to them for counsel, and reliable interpreters must be called upon to aid. This means coöperation with the foreign-speaking. Among the several peoples of foreign speech in every community there are public-spirited and reliable men interested in their fellow countrymen, who are anxious to see justice done them; these men will gladly coöperate with the board, and some of them ought to be members of it. In every industrial plant employers seek out such men; it will be the duty of the Americanization workers to find persons of this kind and put them on the Advisory Council or obtain their coöperation when necessary.

Care should be taken to make it perfectly clear to the priests of the several peoples that the purpose of the Council is not in any way to interfere with or disturb his relation to the people of his parish. Priests do much of the work we have outlined; they are not only the spiritual advisors of the people, but serve their parishioners in a great many other ways. No attempt should be made to interfere with the relationship between priest and people. The fact, however, that so many foreign-born men are cheated and imposed upon is proof that all immigrants do not have priests to go to, or they fail to get the relief they need. Many priests in foreign-speaking parishes are influential enough to command attention when they champion the cause of the oppressed, but in thousands of cases, for various reasons, they are not able to do this. Many men in difficulties have no one in whom to confide, and their sufferings will be great unless some sympathetic friend champions their cause. There are foreign-speaking settlements in the United States numbering thousands which have neither church nor priest. In some parishes the number of communicants is so large that the spiritual leaders have no time for anything save ministering in spiritual affairs. Broad-minded business men know the world and the business of life, and their council is welcomed in every city where foreigners live. If the purpose and functions of the Council are defined, it will be welcomed by most priests.

The Advisory Council can best serve the foreign-speaking by being a part of the Community American-

ization Committee. It should be closely linked with the work done in classes, lectures, and entertainments. The teachers and lecturers, coming into personal contact with the men, will soon gain the confidence of the foreign-born. They will learn of men in difficulty, of those anxious to transact some business, to buy a piece of property, to build a house, and of men with other needs. The workers may learn indirectly of foreigners in trouble, or injured, or intimidated — whatever the case may be, they may suggest to the men themselves or to their friends that the Council will help them, or they may ask one of its members to look into the case. The Americanization worker will make it a part of his duty to make known in classes and meetings the purpose of the Council and to show that its services are free to any one who cares to use it. Teachers when they are well known become the friends and counselors of the foreigners. There are many questions asked by the foreigners which the teachers cannot answer and which they turn over to the Council. In a city where a thousand foreign-speaking people are in classes either learning English or civics, if the right relation exists between teachers and pupils, many singular and perplexing cases arise which demand the services of the wisest and most skillful advisors.

The service of the Board of Advisors should also be advertised in the social gatherings of foreign-speaking persons. In the classroom, we meet the men by the hundred; in the social gatherings and entertainments we meet them by the thousand. In first-class cities, in one summer,

half a million persons attended outdoor lectures. The functions of the Council should be explained in these lectures; concrete cases of helpfulness stated; and it would do no harm to expose the various schemes laid to secure the people's money. Of course, the parasites will disparage this service; they will ridicule the work, and will discredit the members, for the success of the Council means that their hope of gain is gone. With the good will of the leaders, however, the men will turn their faces to the place where they may find justice and truth, and the Council will become a power for righteousness in a community of foreign-born men.

The Advisory Council can also help the foreign-born in the courts. They do not always obtain justice because judges cannot communicate with them directly — they must depend on interpreters, and many of these are inefficient and untrustworthy. The difficulty of securing interpreters in a town like Jersey City, where foreigners use more than thirty different languages or dialects, is great. A man may, in ordinary conversation, be able to understand six or seven Slavic dialects, but be a poor interpreter in most of these. On investigation it has again and again been discovered that the court interpreter was incapable. It may be difficult to secure capable and accurate interpreters, but an honest effort should be made to do so. The Advisory Council may assist the court in this. No conscientious judge is indifferent to the course of justice. It is his pleasure to get the facts in every case and see that justice is done the person under charge.

This is often defeated by the custom of hiring a Slav to interpret for all Slavs. A Serb is a Slav, and so is a Pole. If the court interpreter is a Pole, and the criminal is a Serb, the ability of the Pole, though he be an honest man, to interpret aright is open to grave suspicion. We have many peoples from the Balkans, and it is not unusual to meet a man who can converse in Greek, Bulgarian, Turkish, and Rumanian. He can serve as an interpreter in an industrial plant and get along very well; but when it comes to a court of justice, he may be wholly unfit to act in this capacity. Let the Council aid in procuring intelligent, capable, and conscientious interpreters.

When public-spirited men interest themselves in the foreign-born and see that they get a square deal in court, the general attitude of court officials will change, and the prejudice against the foreign-born, so general among the English-speaking, will be abated. The judge in a court may be sympathetic with the foreign-born, but if the jury and the attorneys are prejudiced, if the witnesses and the police are biased, the man before the court will seldom get a fair trial. The advisors can do much to counteract this prejudice by personal as well as by public service. To combat race prejudice and promote race appreciation is as necessary as to assimilate the foreign-born. The Council can do much to give their foreign-born neighbors a standing in the community and the court, and justice will not be done immigrants until they are treated by the same ethical code as the English-speaking people.

4. The Council in Action. In cities having half a million or more population, one Advisory Council for the whole city is not practicable. A city that has a hundred thousand population, twenty thousand of whom are foreign-born, will furnish cases enough to keep the Council active, providing the Americanization work is well organized. In cities of half a million or more, there should be as many Advisory Councils as there are units of Americanization work. If the "North End" has its Board of Trade, and the "South Side" has its Chamber of Commerce, so also should each foreign section have its Americanization Committee whose duty it is to attend to the assimilation of the foreigners in that part of the city.

In Pittsburgh, the South Side has its thousands of Serbs, Poles, Ukrainians, and other nationalities, and should have its South Side Americanization Committee and its sub-committee on counseling. In the Soho District an equal number of foreign-born Slovenes, Russians, and other peoples are found, who have needs just as great as those of the South Side; these can only be met by a distinct organization for this part of the city. The hill district and Allegheny have their foreign problems, which must be met by distinct organizations, if the work of Americanization is to prove effective. But in addition to the sectional organizations, there should be a Central Americanization Committee on which representatives of each local committee are found.

This plan of organization must be installed in first-class cities before the work of Americanization can adequately

meet the need of its cosmopolitan population. In this connection, I have specially in mind Advisory Councils, and the point I wish to emphasize is that one general committee will not be able to do the work in a large city; sub-councils must be organized, having representatives on the Central Advisory Council, so that the remotest unit in the general plan may be stimulated and directed just as the central political committee stimulates and directs the ward committee.

When a common organization in defense of the foreigner covers the need of a city, it is surprising how the weakest member derives strength from the whole. In a New England city, a member of an Advisory Council late one evening was walking along the principal street when he saw a foreigner abused by a petty official. The immigrant went on his way, entered a store, and soon came out again. He stood on the sidewalk and looked up and down the street. The officer again came up to him, struck him with his club, and took him to the police station, where he spent the night. The American who witnessed this was angered and wondered whether or not he was in the United States. The following morning he appeared in court where the man was charged with resisting arrest and malicious mischief. The case was closed in a few minutes. The judge took the word of the policeman and did not think it worth while to examine the foreigner. The American could hardly believe that the case was closed until the clerk told him so. The foreigner disappeared — taken to prison to serve his

sentence. The native-born asked that the case be re-opened, stating that he was a witness and demanded to be heard. He was only laughed at. He immediately took the matter up with the most influential members of the Advisory Council, and that afternoon the case was re-opened; the man gave his testimony, and the foreigner was discharged. The service cost the man a day's work, but he had the satisfaction of serving the cause of justice, and made a lifelong friend of the foreigner.

There are many foreign-born discharged soldiers whom the Advisory Councils can help. In every town some of them believe that they were not justly treated by the government. They have grievances and they cannot understand why their cases are not attended to and why they should suffer. No one has explained to them the stupendous task Uncle Sam undertook when he promised the half million boys of foreign parentage in the army, insurance, naturalization, and a guarantee that every man would be discharged in as good physical condition as when he entered the army. Human limitations come in and the most perfect machine is imperfectly operated. If the Advisory Councils in every foreign colony in the land apply themselves to the cases of disappointed ex-soldiers of foreign birth, they will render a splendid service to the men and to the country.

Nick was a Greek boy and in France had served faithfully in the army of the United States. He was one of the many gassed and had suffered much. After some months' treatment, he was discharged from the army as cured.

Within a month the old trouble returned and, anxious to get well, he went to a Greek doctor. He was treated just as long as his money lasted, which was not long — the doctor charging ten dollars a day for treatment. Without money and having nowhere to go, the young man came to a good Dutch friend and told him his trouble. The Americanization director said: "You must go to the hospital." He tried to get him into one and failed. He, however, had a friend, Dr. Sullivan, to whose attention he brought the case, and within an hour Nick was in a hospital. The Americanization worker then brought the case before some members of the Advisory Council, one of whom was a Greek attorney. This gentleman told the other members that he would handle the case. He went to the Greek doctor and told him: "You treated Nick, the soldier boy. I give you twenty-four hours to return every dollar you took from him, or get out of town." He returned the money. Other members of the Council got in touch with Washington and Nick's name was re-entered on the Army pay-roll. Nick is well, and his heart is thoroughly American.

It would be a splendid thing to have a women's Advisory Council, for women of foreign birth get into trouble just as men do, though not so often. There are many undesirable practices in foreign-speaking homes which can only be amended by the kind and judicious counsel of women. The splendid work done by the women employed in Americanization work in the International Institute of the Y. M. C. A. is worthy of study and

commendation. These women go from house to house wherever there is need, and bring help to many mothers who are ill and weary because of the heavy load they carry. During the epidemic of influenza, these workers as well as volunteer women workers did exceptional work in bringing relief to many smitten families.

In a city in the middle west, a foreign-speaking mother died, leaving four little children to the care of the father, the eldest of whom was only twelve years of age. The father could do nothing save put that little girl in charge of the home and the three younger children. We can well imagine what kind of home it became in a short while. The father was very worried and he knew not what to do. An Americanization worker by chance learned the facts, brought it to the attention of the wife of one of the Advisory Council, who went to the house, and within twenty-four hours the little ones were inmates of the St. Joseph Home, and the father had the first good night's rest in many weeks.

One of the evils in the foreign-speaking home is the visit of the mid-wife. This institution, imported to America by the foreign-born mother from the Old World, accounts for many deaths among the children born of foreign mothers. It cannot be cured by law; it can be removed if an active Advisory Council of intelligent and sympathetic women undertake the task. One of the saddest cases I have ever known was of a mother brought nigh unto death by one of these ignorant and brutal practitioners. She was only saved by the prompt action of an American-

ization worker intimate with the family, who without the consent of any member summoned a doctor and saved a mother's life, for she knew that the well-being of six children depended on her being near them.

Foreign-born husbands and wives do not always agree, although divorce is rarely found among these people. I remember an Americanization director who had on hand a case of threatened divorce. The husband begged his help to keep his wife and mother in that home. He set to work and with the help of the wisest member of the Council he had the satisfaction of seeing the storm cloud hanging over that house pass away. He still speaks of this case with satisfaction, and well he may.

The hearts of many native-born parents are rent because of wayward children, but we are safe in saying that more hearts of foreign-born parents are rent by this cause. The Advisory Council could render splendid service by advising parents who do not know how to deal with boys growing in the free atmosphere of America. I know an Italian boy to whom has come the vision of what American institutions can do for him, but his father says he is dreaming and must go to work. The parent wants Pietro to help him to maintain the family. The son wants education, and has made up his mind to enter college. An Americanization secretary went to the father, but could not persuade him to give the young man the freedom he desired. In the summer, the son ran away from home, and in the fall returned with two hundred dollars — he had gone to a summer resort and

sold ice cream cones. One of the Advisory Council secured the father's consent to let the son go to school. He is on his way to college and will improve the opportunities America offers to every boy, be he foreign- or native-born.

I do not know of any agency that will bind hands and hearts across the seas as the members of Advisory Councils, if they are found in every city where Americanization work ought to be done. Every foreign-born person helped in difficulty becomes an interpreter of the best that is in the American heart. He and those tied to him by kinship or friendship promulgate good will and sympathy between his people and America. Even in many cases where the foreigners to whom kindness has been shown ultimately return to their original homes — cases which, therefore, must be viewed as mere philanthropy rather than as Americanization — the ultimate benefits to our own country are undeniable. The United States enters more and more into relations with the nations of the world, and the more good-will is established between us and the peoples of foreign lands, the better for both parties concerned. If the members of Advisory Councils keep this in mind, the stream of immigrants returning to Europe and other countries will have among them many who will speak kindly of America because of the services rendered them or their friends by the men and women who are members of Advisory Councils. All workers of Americanization should have the world viewpoint, and think in terms of international relationships.

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CHAPTER X

ORGANIZATION

THE program outlined in the preceding pages must have a plan of organization before it is effective; the purpose of this chapter is to describe plans that work.

In every community, public, business, and philanthropic organizations are discussing the question of Americanization; patriotic men and women who are members of these organizations are anxious to do something, but the lack of coördination, definiteness, and good planning defeat their aspirations. If the performances of patriots in Americanization were equal to the enthusiasm displayed in public gatherings, the problem would soon be solved. We are in danger of losing much of the ardor and zeal of good men and women in city and town, where the need is imperative, for the lack of organization to marshal the available forces and to put them to work.

I know towns that have discussed this work for the last five years. Words and something to eat are the extent of their achievement. Many other towns have spent their efforts on a Fourth of July celebration, or a pageant, or the distribution of some literature. These types of activity are commendable, but not comprehensive enough. Before the work of Americanization is done, some one

must be specially assigned to the task of promotion, a definite plan of action must be outlined, the forces of the community must coöperate, and both paid and volunteer workers must join hands to do intensive work as well as hold public meetings.

1. Employed and Volunteer Workers. In a previous chapter we stated what an Americanization worker or promoter should know in order to do this work. He must be a trained man, but, in addition to all that he knows or may learn about the immigrants and their ways, he must possess a broad sympathy for humanity. He must have boundless faith and must believe firmly that out of the unlikely raw material pouring into this country from abroad we can raise sons and daughters of American democracy.

The need of trained workers in this field has become so great that many of the leading universities have established courses of study specially designed to train men and women for the work of Americanization. Courses in summer schools are offered to public school teachers, social workers, and welfare agents, so that they may do better work for men, women, and children of foreign parentage. In addition to this academic training, I would send every candidate for the position of Americanization worker for three weeks or a month to a city where good work is being done by a successful promoter, that he might study his methods and under his supervision actually do work with foreigners. We need schools in universities, but we are in greater need of laboratories where men and women may see actual things done in Americanization work.

Governmental employees, promoters employed by business and philanthropic organizations, and volunteer workers are needed. It is unfortunate that Congress has not seen fit to appropriate money to have an Americanization director on the staff of the Educational Bureau. Such a director could promote a program in every state in the Union where foreign-speaking peoples are living in large numbers. Dr. H. H. Wheaton, supported by private funds, did this work for a season, and his labors were appreciated by all educators familiar with the problem of Americanization.

In addition to the national director, there ought to be an Americanization director placed on the staff of the educational department in at least sixteen of the states of the Union In New York State, W. C. Smith is doing this work. He has divided the state into several regions and has placed an assistant in charge of each, and from the state viewpoint a splendid piece of work in Americanization is done in the Empire State. Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and California have also Americanization directors doing good work. Other states have made possible financial support for schools teaching English and civics to foreigners. Money is needed, but men even more. The states face to face with this problem need a state Americanization director to stimulate public schools, settlement houses, chambers of commerce, and philanthropic organizations.

Also, cities having ten thousand or more foreign-born people should employ an Americanization director to

function with the public schools, boards of health, police departments, juvenile courts, the wardens of the county jails, the hospitals, and any other organizations that might prove helpful. This director should so plan his work that all the agencies in the city interested in Americanization should be brought together to coöperate, so that the most retiring alien could not escape their activity.

With a force of directors of this kind — national, state, municipal — the governments of nation, state, and city would make possible a comprehensive work in Americanization. These men, having their conferences for discussion and standardization of programs, would lead the forces of the country in the solution of one of its most perplexing and vexatious problems.

In addition to these governmental employees, business and philanthropic organizations should have their Americanization workers. In large cities, chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, and city clubs could do no better service than to underwrite the budget of a man or woman to do Americanization work. In a city like Detroit, Cleveland, or Buffalo, such a worker could do splendid work among the foreigners along employment and domestic lines. Philanthropic agencies, such as the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Men's Christian Union, and churches of all creeds, could also put men and women in the field to do Americanization

work. In cities like Bayonne, Akron, or Los Angeles there is ample work for all the men and women that secular and religious interests may put to work. Anyone familiar with the needs of Jersey City, Pittsburgh, or Chicago knows perfectly well that it is impossible to put too many men and women of the right kind to work to solve the Americanization problem.

Governmental and private Americanization workers need also the help of volunteer workers. The number of persons to a class in English and civics, as before stated, should not be more than fifteen. Boards of directors generally insist on the class numbering from thirty to forty. If the teacher in charge of thirty foreigners is to do good work, she must have an assistant, and the only way this can be done is by enlisting volunteer workers. In every city members of women's clubs, men's clubs, literary societies, church brotherhoods, ladies' aid societies, sororities, and in fact those of almost any society, are willing to aid if they are appealed to and shown how they can best assist with the work.

In order to use this volunteer force, the paid Americanization director or directors should organize a normal class for the training and guiding of volunteer workers. This normal class, made up entirely of teachers and volunteer workers, should meet at least every other week. When volunteers are sought, it should be clearly stated what is expected of them. If they are to teach for two nights a week, let it be clearly understood that the work will continue for three or four months and not inter-

minably. If they aid a group of ninety-day men or women preparing for the naturalization examination, tell them you do not expect them to teach longer than that. Volunteer workers are more willing to serve if they are put to a definite task for a limited time, than if the work has no limit. They also prefer one job, the one best suited to their taste, better than having to perform half a dozen different tasks. Hence, in securing volunteer workers, it is well to put the whole scope of the field before them, then give each a card with the several lines of activity classified and ask each to mark the work in which he would like to assist.

2. **Americanization Work in an Industry.** Most of the foreign-speaking peoples of America are employed in the industries. They work from eight to twelve hours a day, and their boss, more than any other individual, is the personification of America to them. Their leisure hours are spent in the foreign-speaking colony; their associates are men of their own race; their economic, social and religious needs are met by organizations manned by men of their own nationality; the only window open to them by which they can look into the American world is in the plant, and at that window stands the boss. Many foreign-speaking women employed in factories are in the same position exactly; they are, however, somewhat better off than the foreign-born women in the home, who see little of what is really American from one year's end to the other.

Because of the importance of the industries in the

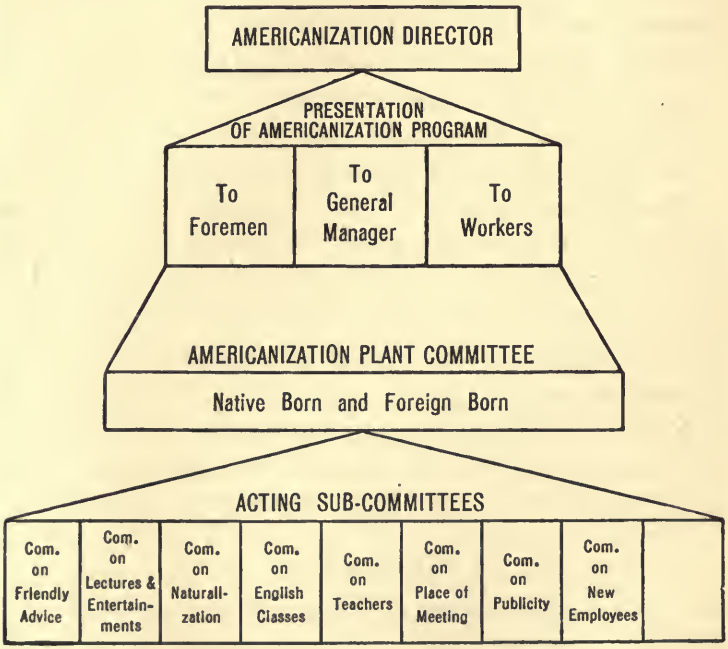
life of the foreigner, the work of Americanization will never be done until the managerial forces and the English-speaking workers in plants employing foreigners will give their approval to the program and be willing to back up the work in a very concrete way. If the foreigners in an industrial plant are cursed, bulldozed, imposed upon, driven, unjustly treated, and discriminated against, the work of Americanization cannot be promoted there. If the general manager and the foreman pooh-pooh the work of Americanization and make fun of John's effort to learn English, the work will never flourish. From the general manager down to the English-speaking water boy there should prevail a genuine spirit of sympathy with the foreign-born in his effort to become an American, and every one, for the sake of our Democracy and of humanity, should be willing to help him.

In order to create this spirit in an industrial plant, the Americanization program should be presented to all the men and a plan of organization proposed to make possible the Americanization of every alien in the works.

The first step is to approach the general superintendent, put the program clearly before him, and ask for his indorsement. If he gives his approval, then ask for the privilege of presenting the program to the foremen. Lay the plans before these men and tell them how it will help them in handling the foreigners and in bringing the personnel of the plant in line with national policy. If they approve of the work, let them appoint two of their best men, who are well known to the foreign-born em-

ployees, to sit on the Americanization plant committee. Next, ask the privilege of addressing the workers of the plant. Tell them what you propose to do, what the

CHART ON AMERICANIZATION WORK IN INDUSTRIES



work means to the plant, to the community, and to the nation. Dwell on the spirit of fair play, of justice, of sympathy — all of which are involved in the success of American democracy — and ask for their coöperation to make that plant one hundred per cent American. If

they indorse the program, ask two of the men to sit on the Americanization plant committee.

The second step is to call the four members of the committee together. Put before them the importance of working *with* and not *for* the foreigner, and ask them who are the four best men among the foreign-speaking workers to sit with them as members of the committee. The men should represent the several nationalities in the plant, they should be able to speak English, and they should be American citizens. When they are chosen, bring the committee together, and if possible persuade the manager to sit with you.

The third step is to have the committee find out what Americanization work is needed in the plant. We want to know those who wish to learn to speak, read, and write the English language; who have their first papers; who wish their first papers; and who are ready and willing to take out their second papers. The employment cards in the office will possibly give you the names of men who have no knowledge of English and who are aliens. You need, however, a card about $3'' \times 4''$ as follows:

(Name of Plant)

AMERICANIZATION PLANT COMMITTEE

Do you speak English?	Do you write English?
Do you read English?	Do you want to learn English?
Are you an American Citizen?	Have you your First Paper?
Do you want your Second Paper?	Do you want to become an American Citizen?
Name:	Department
Address:	Chairman of Committee

These cards are taken by the members of the committee and distributed among their fellow workers in the departments where the foreigners are found. When collected, they are turned over to the Americanization director. From these data, he will know exactly what work is to be done. Let him present the facts to the committee and take up the question of how best to do the work needed.

The fourth step is the actual organization of work. This means classes in English and detailed work on naturalization. The questions to be solved are: where will the classes meet, who will teach, what lessons will be used, how shall we organize — by department or nationality. If the plant works twenty-four hours — three shifts of eight hours each — the men will meet for class work either before or after working hours. If the men work ten or twelve hours a day, they must meet for instruction in the evening. Employers who furnish a room for their employees to learn English will also see that it is properly furnished for the work — blackboard, tables, seats, paper and pencils, and all other necessary articles. If the teaching is done in the plant, a sub-committee should be appointed to decide on the place or places most convenient for the men, in which the classes can be held. Some employers not only give the room for the work, but furnish teachers to teach the men on company time; others conduct the work on a fifty-fifty basis — the men giving half an hour and the company giving the same.

The question of teachers is important. In some towns,

the public school supplies men and women to do the work in the plants or any other place in the city. This immediately gives the industry a corps of teachers trained to do the work. If they are employed, the system of lessons used in the public school for this work will be used in the industry. In most cities, the public school is willing to do the work in the school buildings, and asks the employers to make this known to all men and women needing instruction. Many have made strenuous efforts to do this, but the response has been disappointing. A large percentage of foreigners will not go to the public schools — the school must be taken to them.

If an industrial plant has a large number of foreigners, it will be necessary to enlist volunteer teachers from among the men in the plant. This has been done successfully in many places. One of the best examples is the General Electric plant in Schenectady. Here under the leadership of an Americanization director, Mr. A. L. Hahn, a splendid corps of teachers from among the employees have been trained to teach. If the work is done in the plant, it is very important that the director should come in personal contact with the foreign-speaking by personally calling on them in the place where they work. An accurate record of the attendance should be kept and a regular system of follow-up work installed. We do not believe in compulsion, but moral suasion and sympathy go a great way in this work.

Naturalization should be followed up with as much zeal as English class work. The director should in conjunction

with the manager choose a room or rooms, according to the size of the plant, to which all men wishing their first papers should come. He should have on hand an adequate supply of blank forms for the declaration of intention, and go over them carefully with one or two office men who are his assistants in this part of the work. He should then make arrangements with the leaders in the several departments to send to the room, at an appointed hour, four men. He and his assistants should fill in the blank forms accurately. The process should be repeated until twelve or sixteen men are ready for the court clerk. Then he should secure from the clerk of the court a stated hour when the men may make their declaration of intention to become citizens of the United States. The company can show its good will by supplying an auto truck to take the men to and from the courthouse, and allowing them to do this during their working hours. The director or some other responsible party should accompany the men to the courthouse, and care should be taken to reach every man desiring help.

The men who have their first papers should be interviewed, their papers examined, and if they may apply for their second, the director will advise them how to proceed and what to do. When a group of men have petitioned for their second papers, they should be organized into a class to study for the naturalization examination. The teacher here may be one supplied from the public school, or a member of the legal department of the plant, or one trained by the director to do the work.

In many industries the foreigners live so far from the plant that it is not feasible for them to take lessons there. In some instances the men work in one state and live in another. In these cases it is more difficult to help the foreign-speaking in English and naturalization. If the men work for long hours, the help given them must be given in the community. For these and other reasons it is necessary to organize a community Americanization committee if the men and women are to be served in an adequate way.

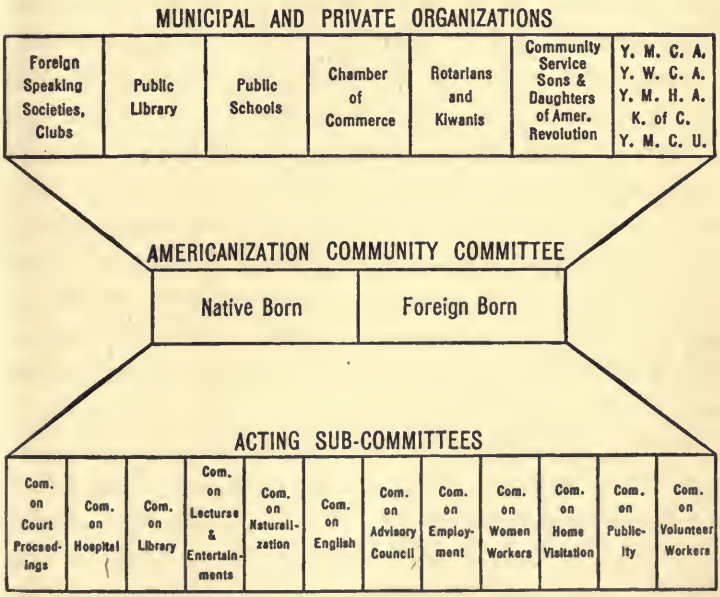
3. Community Americanization Committee. The public school in every community is the agency of public instruction, and it should be alive to every educational need of the population supporting it. The interest shown by educators in the educational need of the immigrant is of comparatively recent date, and is not to-day commensurate with the demand. State authorities are awakening, but many municipalities are not conscious of their duty in this respect.

In my peregrinations from city to city few are found in which public-spirited men are not alert on the question of assimilating the foreigners. In many cities, organizations of various kinds are interested to such an extent that they have appointed a committee to study the need of the town and suggest some way in which the members collectively or individually can help in the work. All such bodies should come together, formulate definite plans of action, and coöperate in the solution of this great problem. The hindrance to the realization of this plan in many

cases is that there is no one organization strong enough to take the lead and bring the others into line.

The work will never be done by a dozen different societies standing apart and trying to function independently of

CHART ON COMMUNITY AMERICANIZATION WORK



each other. The better way is to bring representatives of all organizations together, form a community Americanization committee, establish regular meeting nights, and see that a complete report of work done by the several agencies is given at every meeting. There is no reason why any organization should feel that its services

are not needed. In most cities the field is so extensive and the laborers so few that the workers are depressed and disheartened by the tremendous need and the petty accomplishments.

When the community Americanization committee is organized, composed of prominent citizens, both native- and foreign-born, representatives of the public schools and of business, religious, and philanthropic organizations, one of its first duties is to appoint acting committees on education in English, on naturalization, on lectures and entertainments, on publicity, on securing volunteer workers, on employment, on finance, on the home and the women workers, on the hospitals, and on other needs of the foreign-born. Whatever activity is proposed, whatever avenue of approach is open, whatever need the foreign-born themselves uncover, a special group of men and women should be put in charge of that work and held responsible for its performance.

One of the most important functions of the committee will be to estimate the sum needed to run night schools for Americanization, and then to see that the Board of Directors of public schools appropriates this amount. Unfortunately, many cities have no night school for foreigners; others, when money is scarce for municipal purposes, cut the appropriation for evening schools for immigrants. The Americanization committee should be the strongest ally of the superintendent of instruction in safeguarding the funds necessary for this most important work.

The committee also should link the municipal edu-

cational agency with the industries of the town. Advertisements of the public school classes should be distributed in the plants; if an Americanization director is employed, he should have free access to the industries. If the public school sends its teachers, the Plant Americanization committee should coöperate in lining up the men and in urging them to attend regularly. There should also be the closest coöperation between the public school and the industries in giving instruction to minors of foreign speech. These, according to many state laws, must attend school for a stated number of nights each year. The young people should receive the instruction best fitted for them as members of the community and industrial workers. If, also, the teacher and the foreman coöperate, many boys and girls will prove so apt in their studies that they should be directed and encouraged to pursue these further in higher institutions of learning. In every city conspicuous instances of this fact are cited.

Having given free scope and every opportunity for the public school to function in the community and the industries, the community Americanization committee should not relax its effort to reach every section of the city where the foreign-born are found. As we have already said, many foreigners are so shy, so timid, so diffident, that they will not go to a school building for instruction. To serve these we need men and women having the missionary spirit to carry the message of Americanization to them. This is especially needed in parts of the country where small isolated communities are found within ten miles of

flourishing cities. Greensburg, Pennsylvania, is an example. In the city you can generally organize a strong Americanization committee, but in the small mining towns around it, where the need of Americanization is far greater, it will be difficult to secure an effective committee. The work can be done only by missionaries of Americanization going to these mining camps with their spirit and their program to tell the people for what America stands, and to give them examples of the best type of Americans.

Hence, it is important that the men on the Americanization committee should study the need of its city and the towns dependent upon it in an economic sense. If this is done and a force of volunteer workers organized, there will not be a boarding house, a lodge room, a foreign society, a club, a factory, a mill, or a shop within ten miles of that city without the message of Americanization having been carried to it. If the work is done in the city itself, not a restaurant, a hotel, a shoe-shining shop, a candy store, a tailor establishment, should be passed by. Some one sympathetic with the foreign-born should find out who in each of these places needs lessons in English; who wants help with his naturalization papers; who needs counsel in difficulty; who needs direction in perplexity; and every foreign-born man and woman should know where he may find a true American friend when he needs help.

To facilitate the work of naturalization, a place or places should be set apart in which the work may be done. If the city is large and the foreign-born live in many sections, a room in the public school in each section

should be set apart. The foreigners will know what evenings the rooms are open and at what hours; workers will be on hand to serve the applicants; a plentiful supply of blank forms for first and second papers will be secured; and, as far as possible, the number of men applying in any one night will be so regulated that no one will have long to wait and none be turned away unserved. When there are ten or fifteen declarants for first papers ready to go to court, the director or a member of the committee should accompany the men to the courthouse. The same should be true when aliens petition for their second papers.

The sub-committee in charge of lectures and entertainments should see that these are run synchronously with classes in English and Civics, in the sections of the city where the classes are organized. Saturday and Sunday are good days on which to run these social and educational gatherings. They should not interfere with the class work. It is our experience that nothing reacts more favorably upon the attendance in classes than a good social, a show, or an entertainment to which the members of the classes and their friends are invited. Admission to these functions should be by ticket, and the tickets should be distributed to the members of the classes — two or three to each, and no one should be admitted without a ticket. The function also, as far as possible, should be in the hands of a committee of the best men and women in the classes, working under the supervision of the sub-committee in charge of this branch of the work.

It is not necessary to describe further the functions of the sub-committee on recreation for the sons and daughters of foreigners, the duties of the committee serving women workers and the homes, of the men in charge of the advisory council, of those who look after the foreigners who are in hospitals or sick at home, and many other services that have to be performed by all those connected with the work. All and each one serving in the true American spirit will find work to do, and they will ask no reward, for the gratitude and appreciation of the served will give them more real joy than gold and silver. When these workers come together each month to tell the story of their various activities to the committee of the whole, every member — native- or foreign-born — will feel glad that he has a hand in interpreting America to his alien brother and sister, and that he aids in the shaping of the ideals and concepts of "Coming Americans."

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CHAPTER XI

THE GOAL IN AMERICANIZATION

EVERY workman has an ideal toward which he strives; the Americanization worker ought also to have one. In our work with many types of foreign-born men in America, what is our goal, what is the great objective? If we had the power to form every immigrant coming to America into an ideal citizen, what kind of man would he be? What are the qualities of good citizenship in the United States, and in what does it differ from good citizenship in Canada or France? The Greeks used to talk of the "good citizen" at the time they killed their greatest citizen, whom the world to-day honors — Socrates. The idea of goodness in the days of Charlemagne would not pass muster to-day, any more than the Knights of King Arthur would fit in a modern army. Professor Ferrero tells us that the cold virtues of the stern Puritan need the soothing moderation of the genial Latin before they are workable in modern times. Whether or not the good citizen is to be produced by a compromise between the Teuton and the Latin, I am not ready to answer; but one thing is very clear, that however much we may regret the departure of the solidity of puri-

tanic conduct, it is hopeless to expect the foreign-born to shape their life after the model of colonial days. A Puritan, walking along Broadway in New York City, would be as much out of place in the twentieth century as one of the aborigines of Tasmania. The good citizen of this twentieth century is the model we need, for he alone will pass muster, and the type must be American.

Good citizenship is made up of many parts. As the body comprises many members each of which must be healthy and functioning aright before a perfect organism is realized, so the citizen, having many duties, must discharge each aright, before good citizenship is realized in the state. Every citizen has duties to the home as husband and father, duties to the community as a member, duties to the industries as a producer. These several spheres have a vital relation to good citizenship. The vast majority of foreign-born adults provide for their families most amply, they work regularly and capably as wage-earners, but they are not considered an essential part of the political life of the community as long as they have no political power. There are about five million aliens in the country who are not a part of America, for they have no voice in the government.

When aliens become citizens of the United States, let us believe that they are good husbands, considerate neighbors, and good workmen. Without these characteristics the foreign-born will not make good American citizens. When, however, aliens come into the family of Americans they enter into new relationships,

they assume new duties, their relationship to every other member of this democracy is changed. What does this changed relationship involve, what does it mean to us and to them? If the five million aliens were to enter into the body politic before the next general election, it would mean a great deal to the nation whether or not these millions were conscious of the new responsibilities resting upon them. The naturalized citizen cannot discharge his obligations unless he qualifies in knowledge, intelligence, and character. And of these three virtues the greatest is character.

My purpose in this chapter is to give the Americanization worker an idea of the virtues each alien should possess before he can be classified as a " good citizen."

I. The alien should know what the family possesses and do his best to increase its holdings.

As the soul must have a body, so must citizenship have a country — a material basis for the display of patriotism. The country affords an arena on which the virtues of citizenship may be cultivated and nurtured. The quality and intensity of men's patriotism are not measured by the area of the country to which they belong. The highest type of patriotism has been displayed in countries that are small in quantity and barren in quality. America is highly favored in extent of territory and richness of resources. The density of population in America is only about one tenth that of Switzerland, one thirteenth that of England, and one twentieth that of Belgium. Hence, the margin of subsistence here is wide,

and if sanity obtains in industrial and agricultural relations, there is reason to believe that the means of subsistence in coming years in these United States will be ample for all. This point should be made clear to the foreign-speaking, for it has a great deal to do with patriotism.

Much has been said of late both in the press and on the platform about Americanism. We are told that it is a spiritual possession, and finds its deepest expression in loyalty to certain tenets laid down by the fathers. This is true, but not the whole truth. We need a material basis. Every immigrant coming to America asks, what is the promise of life in America? Immigrants have come from the Old to the New World expecting more of the good things of life than they were able to get across the seas. There is no reason why they should be disappointed. They cannot expect to find the land in America fruitful without plowing, sowing, cultivating, and harvesting. They will not earn money in mine and mill, factory and shop, unless they work. Food, clothing, and shelter for man and animal depend upon the amount we put into the earth; the quantity of consumptive goods at our command depends on the work we put on raw material.

There is no more dangerous fallacy brought by immigrants to America than the expectation of making high wages without sacrifice, hard toil, and persistent effort. When they in time find out their error, they are disappointed, disgruntled, and rebellious. They become

fertile soil to socialistic and anarchistic propaganda, and it is the road along which radicalism of the reddest type comes into America. The Americanization director can correct many of these ideas by appealing to the common sense of the foreign-speaking. Never have men been able to live without work, and hard work at that. America does not differ in this respect from Europe. What we affirm, and what the immigrant has a just right to expect, is that the reward offered to honest toil in America is more ample than that in Europe. This country is not a paradise, and yet millions of immigrants have found in it ample means of subsistence; hundreds of thousands of them have risen from poverty to the well-to-do class, and thousands of them have become wealthy. The price paid was honest toil. If these people had stayed in Europe, their status would perhaps have been that of their fathers and grandfathers before them — grinding toil, bare subsistence, and the dread of want.

Much agitation is also carried on among the foreign-born concerning the present industrial order. Agitators emphasize the capitalistic régime and the wage system; they criticize the method of production and the distribution of wealth; they talk about industrial democracy and the nationalization of minerals and raw material; many advise sabotage and the universal strike — methods which tend to destroy the very foundations of our social and economic structure, advocated by men who never saved anything in their lives, but who believe themselves capable of running the business of this nation,

which amounts, in manufacturing products alone, to more than $25,000,000,000. We have passed through a military experience that cost the nation about that sum. To do this work, the government called to its aid the biggest business men of the nation. America is the richest nation on the earth, and yet the scandalous waste, unveiled by commissions, is burdensome and humiliating. But the work was successfully and well done. Suppose the soap-box orators had been in control — men who know nothing about production and transportation, who know not the A B C of commerce and finance, who disregard the economics of business and industry and flaunt upon an innocent audience theories conned in the brains of dreamers who speak of industrial and social reconstruction — what would have been the fate of the boys over there, and the condition of the world to-day? Inexperience during the war cost us much. Many radical schemes were tried in industries and the results were disappointing. These experiences are our safeguards against radicalism in times of peace.

This foolish and dangerous talk takes root in the minds of men who do not think. If we show the workmen the silliness of the propaganda, their common sense will see that "nothing comes from nothing." The goods we have can be produced only by work, and we cannot change the social and industrial order just as easily as a man can change his clothes. Good citizenship means each one in his sphere keeping busy, doing honest work, and contributing to the sum total of wealth for the

support of the nation. Abuses exist; reforms must be effected. A greater share of self-determination should be given wage-earners, but let us not tear down the house while we need only some improvements to put it in order.

The foreign-born is thrifty. The Italians in New York City are said to have accumulated property to the sum of $100,000,000; the Poles of Buffalo to the sum of $40,000,000; the Greeks of Manchester, $15,000,000; and the Slovaks in the Pittsburgh district, $15,000,000. In every foreign-speaking community this saving goes on; it is the way in which the capital of the nation increases. We all should encourage and commend foreigners for this virtue. The salvation of this and other nations must come by saving and not by spending. Right economic concepts need to be instilled in the minds of the producing classes, both wage-earners and manufacturers. To throw the industrial world into confusion by false and pernicious theories will bring calamity to all.

Nature and man have made possible the present well-being of the United States. If man cease to work, however, nature will soon fail us, and the outcome will be barbarism. Kindergarten principles of economics need to be emphasized, and the common sense of the people will see the point and follow the lead. The world in its progress has depended on brain and not on the rule of majorities. No battle was ever won by an army at the head of which was a debating club; and no more will the conflict with nature bring us the necessities of

life and comfort if we move at the behest of a debating group. Sound economic teaching; willingness to work, whether it be in the field or at the forge, on the ship or in the shop; precedence to talent and leadership to ability; the desire to save and lay in store; obedience to authority and sound financiering — these are the requisites for good citizenship in the native- as well as the foreign-born. Every Americanization worker who leads the foreign-speaking to an appreciation of these qualities serves both the men he reaches and the nation. A fool may throw a brick at a well-regulated timepiece and smash it, but it will take a well-trained hand to repair the damage. False economic teaching may lead the wage-earners to do foolish things and to throw the industries into confusion, but the industries must ultimately be brought to order by the brains of the nation.

II. Besides sound economic teaching, the foreign-born needs to know the family history, what kind of men laid down the foundation, what were their ideas of the purpose of the Republic, what have been the trials of the builders of the state, and how the family conducts its affairs to-day. The more familiar the foreign-born voter is with the family tree, its traditions, its purposes, and its future, the better qualified will he be to discharge the obligations of good citizenship.

Ignorance is a menace to democracy. The leading nations of Europe, now in the van in the onward march of democracy, have reduced their illiteracy to less than two per cent. The last record we have of illiteracy in

America is more than five times as great. The two main contributing factors are the negroes and the foreign-born. Illiteracy among some of the immigrant groups in pre-war days ran up to 70 per cent. The peoples who come from southeastern Europe gave an average of 35 per cent. The enforcement of the literacy test law is reducing the number of illiterate immigrants coming to this country, and we expect to see a higher type of immigrant entering. If literacy, however, is the state in which millions of foreigners in the country now are it behooves us to help them to read and write our tongue.

Those who come from non-English-speaking countries to America must learn the English language. A man who is literate in his mother tongue will make more rapid progress in learning English than the illiterate. This first step in Americanization should be impressed on every alien coming to America as the expressed will of the nation. Many states have passed laws compelling minors who cannot read, write, and speak English to attend school a certain number of nights during the year. Some states have attempted to pass laws compelling adults to do the same. Public sentiment is against this. Men in their fifties, having no knowledge of English, will rarely acquire it. They may be good workmen, genial neighbors, and provident parents, but the chances are that the rights of citizenship will never be theirs. What shall we do for these people? Leave them in their ignorance? No, an effort should be made to bring them by word and picture the spirit of

America. These men are generally heads of families, and will spend the remaining years of their lives in our country. They will have children who have absorbed the American spirit and whose ambition is to become real Americans. Let us show the seniors what this spirit of the land is; they will understand their children better and they will rejoice in the greater richness that has come into the lives of their offspring though they themselves will never participate in it.

The great field of Americanization, however, is the hundreds of thousands of alien men and women between twenty and forty-five who are ignorant of our tongue and dead to the traditions of democracy. To teach these people the English language is a difficult but not an insurmountable task. To give them a clear idea of the spirit of America will clarify much that is now obscure and vague in their minds. Volunteer and religious organizations have helped thousands of foreign-speaking men and women to a knowledge of our tongue and an understanding of America. Both federal and state governments are interested in the work and are promoting comprehensive programs for the education and naturalization of aliens. We hope that Congress, the states and municipalities will make reasonable appropriations for the education of aliens. Much more, however, must be done before this problem is solved.

Money is needed, but it is not the only requisite. If the federal government appropriated all the millions asked for, if the states and municipalities were to add

many millions more, the problem would not be solved unless the people of the several municipalities showed a friendly attitude to the foreign-born and a willingness to welcome them into the family.

The same attitude must characterize government officials. Examples are not lacking of government agents hindering rather than aiding Americanization. Politics and work for aliens are not bedfellows. When neither official good will nor public sympathy supports the effort of educating foreigners, all plans to enlighten them fail. When I asked a club of foreigners what we could do to help them, their answer was: "Help us in this place to be treated as human beings." These men knew enough of democracy to feel the discrimination made in work and in social spheres. The great desideratum in Americanization work is men. The right kind of men and women is more needed than gold; right public sentiment is more needed than silver; and the light of democracy will shine into the hearts of aliens only when it radiates from our own. We need men and women representing government activities who are devoted and capable, discreet and wise, and drawn to the work more by the love of humanity than the honorarium received. We must subject officialism, race prejudice, superior learning, to the love of man as man. Every immigrant is a potential American, if he has the right kind of environment and a sympathetic leader.

Every industry employing foreign-speaking peoples can do much in this work of enlightenment. Every

plant employing a hundred or more aliens may with little trouble find out the status of the foreign-born workers. An Americanization committee, carefully chosen from among the most sympathetic workers, should see that every alien workman is personally interviewed as to his knowledge of English and his desire for citizenship. Every community having foreign-speaking neighbors should also be aroused to its obligation. The organization of community Americanization committees is a movement in the right direction. Every alien in the city not approached in the works should be interviewed by a wise and sympathetic citizen who will make all necessary inquiries as to English and naturalization. On every committee, whether in the industry or in the community, foreign-born citizens able to talk English should be found. We should work *with* and not *for* the foreigner, as I have already stated. When the native- and foreign-born men of the community sit in joint conference to plan the best means to bring the message of Americanization to the foreign-born, the work will be wisely done. The effort in the industries and that in the community should be coördinated. Duplication of effort is waste of money and energy. Chairmen of Americanization committees in the several plants should be ex-officio members of the community Americanization committee. This would assure uniformity of methods, interchange of ideas, coöperation between the industry and the community, and the service of the best men to promote a program of interpreting America, its institutions, and its men.

Many foreigners live in communities of less than five thousand population. These include towns near mines, quarries, cement plants, and chemical works. If these are added to agricultural communities made up largely of foreign-born families the total amounts to thousands. These smaller communities, as I stated before, need enlightenment. The work of Americanization will not be complete if these are left in illiteracy. The program projected in these small centers will be the same as that promoted in large cities, but the method of approach will be different. Most of these small communities are near large cities, and the service rendered should radiate from these points. In mining regions, such as the coal fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, West Virginia, the copper and iron mines of Michigan and Minnesota, the lead mines of Missouri, in lumber camps in Maine or on the Pacific Coast, as well as in settled agricultural counties having large numbers of foreign-speaking men like those in New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Minnesota, and California, Americanization work can best be done by grouping the camps or settlements into zones and putting an Americanization director in each zone, whose headquarters are in the city where the business interests converge and in which volunteer workers may be found. This plan will reach the foreigners in isolated communities and teach them for what America stands.

The state of Pennsylvania has under way a comprehensive plan to reach every isolated community of this

nature. Its aim is to coördinate government agencies, philanthropic societies, and business interests in one strong drive to enlighten the two million odd foreign-born in the state. This is the rational way to do the work. It is a campaign of enlightenment in the fundamentals of democracy, and it will help not only the foreign-born, but the native as well. When race prejudice as well as illiteracy, narrowness as well as ignorance, class consciousness as well as class indifference are banished, the foreigners will be happier. If every state having immigrants follows a sane plan of Americanization, there will be no foreign-born group unchallenged as to its loyalty to the Union, and no community having foreign-born neighbors left ignorant of its obligation and responsibility to America.

One of the questions asked by an attendant in an Americanization conference was: "Suppose we get all men to take out their papers, will the work of Americanization be done?" The answer was "No." Thousands of aliens have been made citizens in the flimsiest way. They have little or no idea of the American plan of government, and no clear idea of the objective of this democracy. To make aliens citizens by the thousands and then forget them is to leave the foreign-speaking community fallow for the professional politician. It is no exaggeration to say that hundreds of thousands of foreign-born voters go to the polls having no idea of their responsibility in a democracy. Who will carry the necessary information to these people that they may better discharge

their civic duties? Government officials cannot do this, the Americanization worker can.

In some communities government agents promoting Americanization work are regarded with suspicion because of political affiliations. In half a dozen cities I found men in political offices dead set against the work in Americanization because the promoters represented the opposite political party. In a few places, the mayor and his henchmen capitalized the Americanization work done in their city. Politics, when once they enter into the work of Americanization, doom it to failure. It is difficult enough to keep out the taint of politics when governmental activity is limited to English and naturalization; if it is extended to instructing the foreign-born voter how to vote, what elections mean, how electors should do their duty, how democracy is interpreted by the leading parties, what should be the qualifications of office seekers, then though an angel from heaven did the instructing, he would not be able to keep out political bias. Lectures of this nature must be given entirely by volunteer and philanthropic organizations.

The ideal citizen, be he foreign- or native-born, puts patriotism above partisanship, principles above personalities, country above creed. No community will come to its own in a political sense if ethical considerations are cast to the wind. We are making citizens of the foreign-born now faster than ever before in the history of the country, and unfortunately little is done to quicken the consciences of these men. It is best that the

foreign-born voter should align himself with one of the great parties; all we ask for is that he do so knowing what democracy means, how it is to be preserved, and what are the ideals of this American experiment. The men fit to do this are not time servers, political charlatans, itinerant spell-binders, crawling office seekers. If adopted citizens are to be enlightened, the work must be done by clean, straightforward, honest patriots, free from political bias and above political partisanship.

Many speak of America as "God's country." Would it not be worth while to make Americanization work fit that title? This confluence of the nations of the earth, on a land prepared by the Puritans for self-government, means something in the ultimate solution of the problem of race amelioration and human development. Never before in the history of the world has there been such a mixing of the blood of races as in America. The spread of Grecian culture was nothing like it; the dominancy of the Roman Republic had something similar in it; the commingling of nations in Europe when each fought for standing room is most like this, and yet it differs in the fact that there it was done by the sword, and here by good will. Kelt and Teuton, Slav and Latin, Chaldaic and Mongol, have come of their own accord, each contributing his part to participate in making a democracy.

President Wilson has said: "We are the predestined mediators of mankind." "America is the hope of the world, and if she does not justify this hope, the result will be unthinkable." We need ideal citizenry for this, and it

can be attained only by raising the standard of citizenship in both native- and foreign-born electors. The tide of events points clearly to the leadership of America in the great task of establishing the "Republic of Man." The world looks to the United States for this leadership, and it can be given only by men being true to the prophets and priests of this democratic ideal, who have stood for justice to the weak at home and the right of self-determination abroad. Our task is to make the peoples in America catch the vision of ideal democracy, and resolve to make it the best among the popular governments of the world. The 15,000,000 foreign-born in these United States should be shown how they can help in bringing to pass the coming day when the people shall rule in righteousness and truth. In this process of enlightenment the Americanization leader cannot find a nobler calling, a more sacred duty, or a more exalted mission. He will serve not only the foreign-born, not only the future of these United States, but also the interest of humanity struggling to realize a better world in which dwell justice and peace.

III. **Moral Requisites.** America will never be "the predestined mediator of mankind" if moral qualities are wanting. We are all proud of the history of the country. We know that the story is not perfect; there are many shortcomings among both fathers and children. And yet we risk the statement that no other nation in the world can point to as consistent an effort to promote justice and truth, peace and good will, in home and foreign affairs, as these United States in the last hundred years.

The purpose of the founders of the nation as expressed in the preamble of the Constitution — "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," has been the guiding star of the nation. The unprejudiced reader of American history will see how it has been realized in a remarkable degree. The American government and American diplomacy have on the whole steered true to the ideal laid down by the fathers. If the Americanization promoter brings this fact to the foreign-born's attention, if he emphasizes the character of the men who stood at the helm of the ship of state and steered true to the course mapped out by the founders he will render a valuable service to the nation.

The World War has shown us how one of the most enlightened nations of the earth, under autocratic leadership, can shake the foundations of civilization. It may be done again, if the leading nations of the earth do not find a way to settle international problems by arbitration. America's place and the part it will play in this question must depend upon the way it keeps its own house in order. "Eternal vigilance" must be exercised against the foes of democracy who hide in the folds of the Stars and Stripes. There are those who strike at the foundations of government while professing to be patriots, who use every opportunity to make the nation serve them rather than the reverse. Against these men, all patriots, native- and foreign-born, must wage war. This can be done only by

the exercise of moral qualities. The virtues of duty and obedience, service and honor, truth and uprightness, are the only defenses known to ward off corruption, intrigue, and class warfare.

We have many shortcomings. One of the grossest is the corruption of our cities. It may not be so great as the press would have us believe, but it exists and causes every patriot to blush. Again and again have municipal officials been found guilty of malfeasance in office, and yet they escape the punishment due malefactors. In some instances, such men are brazen enough to come again with besmirched records in quest of office, and behind them stands the political machine, whose manipulators defy public sentiment, disregard the demands of decency and honesty, and clothe their "pals" in the robes of office when they ought to be in striped garments. It is downright moral turpitude, and is due to the fact that the machine puts party success above public morality, loyalty to criminals above the law, and hoodwinks electors by swearing that black is white. In this as in other things "the truth shall make us free." A criminal is a criminal and should have no favors if political institutions are to be honored in the land. Corrupt practices, if persisted in, will humiliate any nation. The honor of the Union, a due sense of decency and honesty, should stand for impartial justice to all. The political thief is just as black as the commercial one, and both need the stern hand of the law to bring them to justice. When the foreign-born read of this

leniency to political prisoners their respect for law is gone.

Another evil from which we suffer much is mob rule. In these post-bellum days, the spirit of lawlessness is abroad, property is destroyed, the police force is set at defiance, and lives are sacrificed. The recent experiences through which the country has passed in the steel strike in Gary, Youngstown, Johnstown, and other centers; the industrial conflicts on the Pacific Coast as well as in the mining regions of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, are most disquieting. Men have never gained anything by mob law. The real progress of society must come through adjustment of relations between parties whose interests conflict. If the courts cannot give relief, the legislatures can pass laws required to remedy existing evils. That is the way society has advanced. It is the Anglo-Saxon way, and its fruits are peace and prosperity.

The one thing needed above all else in Americanization work is service. The old motto, "I serve," is a good one to place in every patriot's head. The spirit of service injected into the young manhood and womanhood of every community will win the foreign-born to America. We are all proud of its manifestation in the World War. When I visited the cantonments of the country, I saw men who were managers and part owners of industrial plants sleeping in bunks, working fourteen hours a day, often in rain and mud, and eating in mess houses that were most crude, for they wished to do something for their country. Tens of thousands of college boys

from every part of the country left stately halls of learning, homes full of comfort and happiness, and voluntarily lived the hard life of a soldier, because they heard their country's call and wished to serve. It was splendid in every way. It proved the heart of America when the testing came, and the lesson will not be forgotten by the men of this generation. Never did the fires of patriotism burn brighter than the morning on which the call came for men to serve in order that the heritage of democracy might not be lost to the sons of men. The service rendered by the millions of American boys is the best proof that the manhood of the nation is going to see this democracy preserved and perpetuated. In this splendid display of patriotism we should not lose sight of the part played by the foreign-born. Thousands of these young men were subjects of foreign powers and could have claimed exemption, — they waived their rights, stayed in the army, and fought for democracy under the Stars and Stripes. If this spirit of service is capitalized to make democracy safe at home, many of the evils from which we suffer will disappear.

What could it not accomplish if rallied around the polls on election day! The ballot box has been called the "ark of the covenant of democracy." The name is appropriate. Unhallowed hands are laid upon it and we need brave lads to strike them off. Corrupting parasites are packing the ballot box with chaff, swearing it to be whole wheat gathered from the fields of democracy.

We need young men, defenders of democracy, to guard the ark and see that nothing except whole wheat is put into it. Some naturalized men sell their acquired right for a mess of pottage; we need keen eyes and sharp blades to discern and smite these corrupters and divest them of the robe they dishonor. Other naturalized citizens care not what becomes of the "ark of the covenant," pay no attention to the character of the men serving at the polls, and never investigate the quality of men who seek public office. These men enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship, and assume none of its obligations.

In some cities the returning soldiers are organized for service in the towns in which they live. "Over there" they served their country and the world, here they are asked to serve their town. The men fought with men of many tongues in the World War, and democracy was saved. What a splendid thing it would be if they made friends of the foreign-speaking of their town, informed them what the power of the ballot is, and showed them how the present and future condition of the town depends upon the purity of the vote. Millions of men were willing to die for democracy; if one million is willing to live for it, we need have no fear of the foreign-born. A million men and women, resolved to live for democracy, and to see that the foreigners get accurate knowledge of how to use their sovereign power aright, would be the best interpretation of the American spirit. If this effort be made by service men, the foreign-born will help to keep

the vote pure, the legislative chamber clean, and the officials honest and conscientious.

The foreign-born will not rise to the status of the ideal citizen if the courts of the land are not above suspicion. We are proud of the records of eminent jurists who have given tone, character, and dignity to these courts. Few cases, in the hundred and forty years of our history, are found beclouded with suspicion or besmirched by partisanship. The character of the higher courts has been on the whole above reproach. The quality of men to-day dispensing justice in the nation is equal to that of any period. Popular clamor, however, invades this department of public service and seeks control. Montesquieu said: "The people, not able to tolerate the authority which it has created, wishes to do everything itself, to deliberate for the Senate, to act for the magistrate, and to usurp the functions of the judge." This seems to be the trend to-day in the United States. The mob clamors for power, and the courts do not escape their criticism nor the judges their censure. Every patriot must oppose this tendency if the judges of the land are to be kept above party strife and economic anxiety. The foreign-born understand the seriousness of this question and their help should be sought in preserving the dignity and purity of the courts of the land.

The American nation will be just as good as its citizens make it. We, the citizens of to-day, can make or break this democracy. The past is well worth our admiration, and we all should be anxious to maintain the

standards of the past and on them build the ideal democracy of the future. The ideals of the fathers are far from facts in this twentieth century. To-day we are wrestling with imperfections and shortcomings. We are slow in adapting ourselves to new conditions. The disturbing factors in society rise as so many hydra heads disturbing the peace of all and threatening to overthrow the industrial and social order. We cannot pray for the strong man — Hercules — to come and give us relief, for that is Nietzscheism. We have the remedy in our own hands; if we cannot adapt ourselves there is only one outcome — barbarism. Old solutions will not answer. New problems rise of which the fathers never dreamed, and they demand new solutions. It means new adaptation. If the problem of Americanization is to be solved, it must be at some sacrifice and expense. It is worth the effort, for in it are involved fundamental principles of democracy.

Never before in the history of the nation has race prejudice been more virulent and aggressive than just now; never have the rights of the foreign-born been more bitterly attacked in and out of the industries; never have the inconsistencies between democratic faith and practice been more pronounced. The foreign-born feel it and thousands of them have felt sore at heart because of the wrongs to which they are subjected. We rejoice in the fruits of peace, but peace brought greater hardship to thousands of foreigners. Few of these complaints have reached the ears of American patriots, for

the foreigners have no medium of expression which can be heard in state or national legislatures. While nursing their wrongs, the radicals have come to fan their anger. Foreigners easily misunderstand and misinterpret America, and these false notions are carried to the ends of the earth. America is not understood in any land. Foreigners say it is the land of contradictions. Redemption must come through the service rendered by Americanization committees and directors. These men above all else are charged with the duty of rightly showing the foreign-born the soul of America, which is the soul of democracy. America stands for "peace on earth, good will among men." If this is taught sedulously in industries and in municipalities, in trade and commerce, in social and political life, the foreign-born will understand and appreciate our institutions.

From all the countries of Europe have come to us a mighty host, who this day are scattered far and wide in the Republic. These men have served well in American industries, they have built homes and churches, they have their press and their literature, and have tasted the joys of a well-regulated government and the blessings of freedom. Some of them have come from lands red with the blood of their fathers who, while resisting tyranny and despotism, paid a price the world has never been able to compute. They have in their blood a dread of tyranny and a trembling in the presence of authority. They know the value of peace and good will, for they long lived under conditions directly the opposite. Many of

these men are in positions of trust and honor in commerce, finance, and industry; many of them occupy seats of learning in colleges and universities; and the one thing America asks of them is that they, with the native-born, work for the better and nobler nation of tomorrow.

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